TACITUS

Annals IV

John Fletcher

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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOK IV

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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOK IV

Edited with Introduction and Notes

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PREFACE

THE Fourth Book of the Annals is an excellent introduction to Silver Age Latin and to the history of the early Principate; and altogether it is a most stimulating subject, as I found from reading it with Dr Butler in the Sixth Form at Harrow in 1874. Little did I then think that more than 'forty years on' I should receive from the Syndics of the Press a request to edit this book in their Series. There are many books of various kinds to help the editor of Tacitus in his work. I am especially indebted to Nipperdey, Halm, Furneaux, Boissier, and Ramsay.

G. M. E.

CAMBRIDGE,
March, 1915.

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INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS

Cornelius Tacitus perhaps belonged to an equestrian family of Interamna in Umbria. He was born about 54 A.D. His praenomen is uncertain; possibly it was Publius. According to the elder Pliny, either his father or uncle administered the revenues of Belgic Gaul.

The *Dialogus de oratoribus*, generally ascribed to Tacitus, was probably written in the early years of the reign of Domitian, i.e. 81 A.D. or later[1]. The dramatic date is 74–75 A.D., i.e. when Tacitus was about twenty, *admodum iuuenis*, as he describes himself. The treatise is a criticism of the rhetorical curriculum of his boyhood,—an explanation of the decline of oratory under the Empire. The interlocutors are Julius Secundus and other celebrated rhetoricians. Marcus Aper champions the school of Seneca. According to Boissier[2], Messalla, the man of action and student combined, represents Tacitus himself.

In 78 A.D. Tacitus married the daughter of Julius Agricola, already a prominent man at Rome, and consul in the previous year. Agricola left Rome to be propraetor of Britain, as successor to Frontinus. Tacitus wrote his life (or historical eulogy) probably in 98 A.D.

Tacitus sums up his public life in these words:—'I should acknowledge that my political career was inaugurated by

[1] See *Cambridge Companion to Roman Studies*, § 1002.

[2] *Tacitus and other Roman Studies*, p. 5.

Vespasian, advanced by Titus, and carried still further by Domitian' (*Hist.* i 1). This means that he was a *candidatus Caesaris* in his magistracies[1]. He began his career as military tribune under Vespasian. Under Titus he was quaestor. Under Domitian he would have become either tribune or aedile; for under the Empire the tribunate of the plebs might be held as a substitute for the aedileship in the career of *honores.* In 88 he became praetor. He was now about 33. For a *nouus homo*, he had come to the front rapidly. As a protégé of three Emperors, he was by necessity a partisan of the imperial régime.

Till the year 88 A.D. we may suppose that Tacitus lived in Rome, (i) engaged in his practice at the bar; for the younger Pliny speaks of his eminence there, and (ii) perhaps already gathering materials for his historical works. From 89 A.D., i.e. immediately after his praetorship, till 93 he probably held a provincial command as *legatus pro praetore.* We may conjecture that it was now that Tacitus gained the knowledge necessary for the writing of his *Germania.* The only imperial province governed by an ex-praetor in the vicinity of Germany was Belgic Gaul. Almost certainly it was there that he spent the four years of his absence from the City. During the last three years of Domitian he was in Rome. The accession of Nerva in 96 was a wonderful relief to all good men: he joined together two elements previously hard to unite, *principatus* and *libertas.*

In 97 Tacitus was *consul suffectus* (after the death of Verginius Rufus) and colleague in the consulship with Nerva himself. It was about this time that Tacitus wrote the life of his father-in-law Agricola. In the same year (98) he published the *Germania*, in which he contrasts the native simplicity of the Germans with the vices of imperial civili-

[1] Boissier, p. 26.

sation. For literary history it is important to notice that in his preparation for this book he was training himself as a historian.

In 100 A.D. Tacitus (along with the younger Pliny) prosecuted in a famous case,—that of Marius Priscus, governor of Africa, who was convicted of extortion and violence. Pliny speaks of the dignity of Tacitus' eloquence.

Under Vespasian and Titus the position of Tacitus was easy. During Domitian's reign of terror it was much more difficult. He speaks of 'fifteen years—a large slice carved out of human life—during which in silence and inaction young men reached old age, and old men their full term of life' (*Agricola* 3). This is an exaggeration ; for the reign of terror, during which people hid themselves and held their peace, lasted only four or five years ; but it made such an impression on Tacitus as to colour his memory of the whole of the reign of Domitian (81–96).

Tacitus regards the Emperors as enemies of the Senate, which to him is representative of the virtues of old Rome. He is exceedingly jealous of imperial encroachments on the Senate's functions. So keen is he about the old republican régime that he represents his favourite Trajan as re-establishing the old constitution. But, as to his own political conduct, Tacitus walks circumspectly. He does not court death like the Stoic martyrs. His own point of view is excellently given by the words he puts in the mouth of Marcellus (*Hist.* iv 8) :—*se meminisse quam ciuitatis formam patres auique instituerint ; ulteriora mirari, praesentia sequi ; bonos imperatores uoto expetere, qualescumque tolerare ;* i.e. he is an opportunist.

It appears from an inscription found in Caria that towards the end of Trajan's reign Tacitus was proconsul of Asia, 113-116 (about)—one of the most important posts in the Empire. There is no evidence as to the time of his death. Since he did not write the life of Augustus, or the history of

Nerva and Trajan, as he intended, he probably did not survive the completion of the *Annals*. The *Histories* of Tacitus, completed early in the reign of Trajan, would have covered the period from the death of Nero to the accession of Nerva,—about 14 books in all, of which I–IV and part of V are extant. The *Annals* were finished about 115 A.D. The title of the work in the Medicean MS. is *Cornelii Taciti ab excessu diui Augusti*. Tacitus calls it *annales*, because it is arranged according to years. It consisted originally of 16 or more books. VII–X are entirely lost, also parts of V, VI, XI, XVI. Books I–VI would have covered the reign of Tiberius. VII would have begun that of Gaius (37 A.D.). XI begins with the sixth year of Claudius (47 A.D.). XII carries us to the end of Claudius (54 A.D.). XIII–end would have given us the whole of Nero. XVI, as we have it, ceases at 68 A.D. Evidently the ambition of Tacitus was to cover the whole period from the beginning of Augustus to the end of Trajan.

II. TACITUS AS A LITERARY ARTIST

'All of them profess great affection for letters; it is one way of justifying and ennobling their fortune. Not only have they studied eloquence in their youth; to speak well is an indispensable accomplishment for a Roman magistrate; but they take an interest in philosophy or even compose elegies and epics. I do not believe that in any other period has literature been so greatly loved. Seneca even considers that it is loved too much, and that people carry their taste for it to the point of mania: *litterarum intemperantia laboramus* (*Epist.* cvi 2). It was, in short, a very agreeable society, which no longer had the distinction and high bearing of the early days of the Empire, but in which were still to be found, with a less spacious life and simpler manners, much charm and wit.'

In these glowing words Boissier (p. 19) describes the society in which the young Tacitus grew up. We must think of him first as a student of oratory. He tells us in his *Dialogue* (c. 20), how not only the juryman, but also the chance listener in court demands a bright and beautiful style of oratory. 'Young students also, who follow orators with a view to their own advancement, not only want to hear, but also to carry home something brilliant and memorable. They pass such things round their own circle and often send them in letters to their colonies and provinces, whether some smart and concise epigram has flashed out or a whole passage remarkable for elaborate poetical treatment. For nowadays even from the orator some poetical ornament is expected, not soiled by the rust of Accius or Pacuvius, but fresh from the treasury of Horace, Virgil, and Lucan[1].'

Tacitus must have finished his education early in the reign of Vespasian. After the terrible times through which Rome had passed, this was a happy epoch, most opportune for youthful ambition. He tells us (*Dial.* 3) how he devoted himself with enthusiasm to the then most famous orators of the Roman bar (*celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri*), not only in the courts but also in private life. These were Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus. Of the style of the latter he

[1] Professor Summers in his interesting paper on 'Declamations under the Empire' (*Proceedings of the Classical Association*, vol. x, p. 100) ascribes to the declamation schools the encroachment of Silver Latin prose on the domain of poetry. He mentions that Seneca gives us several declamation passages which are merely prose paraphrases of Virgil, and the declamation on the poor man's bees makes much use of the fourth Georgic. Even the loss of the Ciceronian and Livian period he ascribes to the same cause, quoting the words of Quintilian: 'Nowadays we expect something effective at the end of every sentence, and look upon it as almost a sin to take breath where we are not likely to get applause.'

says :—*purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit*,—probably not a bad description of Tacitus' own oratory. The younger Pliny, who began his career a few years later, tells us that Tacitus even then was 'in the prime of renown.' Unfortunately none of his own speeches have been preserved; but those which he introduces into his historical narratives enable us to form some idea of his rhetorical style; for we may conjecture that they are composed according to his own method. Moreover, Pliny gives us this additional piece of evidence. In *Epist.* ii 11, on his return from a meeting of the Senate, he writes to one of his friends :—'Tacitus spoke with great eloquence and, what is characteristic of his style, with dignity,'—*et, quod eximium orationi eius inest, σεμνῶς.*

The sixth chapter of the Dialogue, which deals with the secret joys of the orator, reads like a piece of autobiography. A few words are well worth quoting :—*quae in publico species! quae in iudiciis ueneratio! quod gaudium consurgendi assistendique inter tacentes et in unum conuersos!......uulgata dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo: illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota maiora sunt. ...extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis uel praecipua iucunditas est.*

Not only the declamation schools[1] and the practice of forensic oratory contributed to the formation of the style of Tacitus. As Ramsay says very well, the rhetorical and epigrammatic phrases with which Tacitus so often closes a chapter or a topic are doubtless due to the practice of recitation. 'We cannot doubt (he continues) that it was in

[1] Many of the declaimers never intended to become orators at all. To such men the course served rather as a literary and critical education. When they left the schools, they became writers of epics or history or philosophy, or else the readers to whom such writers must appeal (Summers, *l.c.*, p. 93).

the form of recitation to sympathetic audiences that the works of Tacitus were first given to the world' (vol. I, p. 337). Those epigrams, called by Seneca *sententiae*, hold so much sense in a few words. They were then much in fashion. Many of them are to be found in Seneca and other writers of the Silver Age. Those of Tacitus are not merely showy conceits. They come direct from life. We admire the pungent flavour he has given them; but we are still more impressed by the profound knowledge they manifest of character and life[1].

Many instances of such epigrams might be quoted from the Fourth Book of the *Annals*. The following are some of the most noteworthy:

cuius pari exitio uiguit ceciditque (1)
negotia pro solaciis accipiens (13)
huic negatus honor gloriam intendit (26)
nimis ex propinquo diuersa arguens (33)
si irascare, adgnita uidentur (34)
punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas (35)
haec mihi in animis uestris templa (38)
contemptu famae contemni uirtutes (38)
inuidiam et preces orditur (53)
idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcebat (57)
patuit breue confinium artis et falsi (58)
tristibus dictis atrocia facta coniungere (71)

It is a great mistake to regard the Tacitean prose of the *Annals* and *Histories* as 'Silver Latin' and nothing more. Tacitus has not the common fault of the Silver Age,—the stilted declamatory manner, which the education of the time encouraged. A Ciceronian in his youth, later on Tacitus developed a style of his own, of which the main features are

[1] See Boissier, p. 23.

dramatic power, terse epigram, stately dignity, and a stimulating vigour natural in the first orator of the day. When he found that the style he had created was effective and popular, he adopted it permanently.

Tacitus is above all things an artist. Racine, quoted by Boissier (p. 68), calls him the greatest painter of antiquity; and 'some of the pictures he has left are among the finest surviving to us from ancient writers. ......Professional men charge him with defective information as to topography, number of combatants, distribution of troops, phases of the struggle. But let some novel or curious episode intervene; and at once the narrative is again brisk, interesting, and full of colour' (Boissier, p. 69).

Similarly Livy is fond of 'pleasant little resting-places,' as he says in ix. 17, *ut...legentibus uelut deuerticula amoena et requiem animo meo quaererem.* Tacitus' love of variety of expression is very remarkable. Note how in iv 5 (a mere catalogue of provinces and legions) Tacitus constantly varies the form of expression. His frequent variety of syntax is well illustrated by iv 38:—*quod alii modestiam, multi quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur.* His vocabulary is largely made up of poetical words; and there are many echoes of Virgilian expression: see these examples from Book IV:

nobis in arto et inglorius labor (32)
in tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria (*Georg.* iv 6)

quibus infaustae amicitiae grauis exitus imminebat (74)
nunc manet insontem grauis exitus (*Aen.* x 630)

ualido cum remige (5)
agit acri remige (*Aen.* v 116).

III. 'TIBERIUS THE TYRANT'

There is a very striking passage in Dio Cassius (liii 19)[1]. As he approaches the history of the Empire, this writer regards himself as passing from light into darkness. Though he has before him Tacitus, Suetonius, and other authorities, yet he writes :—'From henceforth state affairs were managed privily. If anything was divulged, it was not sufficiently attested to gain implicit belief. Almost every incident is distorted from the truth. Then there is the vast extent of the Empire...... Events took place in Rome, in the Provinces, on the frontiers, of which none but the actors themselves could ascertain the exact truth ; and people generally knew not that they had occurred at all.' Truth being so hard to ascertain, Tacitus loved to indulge other literary excellences. He is a stylist rather than a historian. Moreover, he has a wonderfully subtle power of psychological analysis, of which we shall see good examples in Book IV, especially in his portrait of Tiberius. He is often carried away by this faculty to the detriment of truth. He has not the historical excellences of a Thucydides,—no critical faculty, no anxious search for facts. Neither is he an imaginative historian like Livy. Rather he is a stern moralist of the old republican type.

Thus in his elaborate monograph, *Tiberius the Tyrant* (p. 357), Tarver writes :—'Tacitus interested himself only in recording events which seemed to him striking illustrations of good or bad behaviour,—history being to him merely a primer of morals and a collection of examples.' Compare especially *Annals* iii 65, *praecipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes sileantur, atque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.*

In the book referred to, Tarver makes a valuable attempt

[1] See Furneaux, vol. i, p. 17.

to defend the character and government of the Emperor,—a good example of historical white-washing. We cannot do more here than indicate some important points in the discussion. There seems to be no doubt that the attacks of Tacitus on Tiberius are overdone.

In iv 6, Tacitus readily ascribes to Tiberius in his early time a remarkable ideal of righteous government. Public business and most important private affairs are transacted in the Senate. The Emperor acts admirably as the fountain of honour. His appointments are excellent: *sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species.* The lesser magistrates also exercise their proper functions.

It is in 23 A.D. that we come (according to Tacitus) to the turning-point in the reign of Tiberius,—*Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit* (iv 7). These words qualify what has been said in the previous chapter. The system there described was maintained till the murder of the Emperor's son Drusus by the arch-traitor Sejanus. Tiberius still preserves his dignity especially in the striking scene of the introduction to the Senate of the boys Nero and Drusus. He is determined (he says) to seek comfort *e complexu rei publicae* (iv 8). He still dwells on his alleged wish to restore the old commonwealth. For Tiberius' dignity and eloquence compare a later speech (iv 38).

The following words form a lurid commentary on the situation as conceived by Tacitus:—*sed quia Seianus facinorum omnium repertor habebatur, ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris et ceterorum in utrumque odio quamuis fabulosa et immania credebantur, atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus* (iv 11).

Then, after Bury[1], we may note a special excuse for the unhappy Emperor:—'Tiberius was now surrounded by four imperial widows, who made his court a scene of perpetual

[1] *Student's Roman Empire* (27 B.C.–100 A.D.), p. 197.

jealousy and intrigue. There was his mother Livia and his daughter-in-law Livilla, his sister-in-law Antonia, and Agrippina. The will of Augustus had left Livia a share in the supreme power, and she desired to exert it.'

It is important to notice that even at Capri Tiberius gave strict attention to the details of state business; and he was in constant communication with the Senate. Bury suggests that, by his retirement, 'he may have wished to give Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, a chance of gradually taking an active part in the government and of rendering the assistance which he had himself given to Augustus.'

In iv 67, Tacitus tells us that the Emperor objected so strongly to town life,—indeed to the mainland as a whole, that he buried himself in Capri; its solitude being its main attraction for him. These words, as Ramsay remarks, imply a morbid shrinking from the public view, which would account for the retirement to Capri without calling for the grosser insinuations of iv 57, where it is alleged that the island rocks were the screen of licentiousness. Others, according to Tacitus, said he wished to conceal the deformities of old age. Others held that, as we have mentioned above, he had been driven away by his mother's imperious temper.

This is Tiberius' last phase as conceived by Tacitus in a later book:—*postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur* (vi 51). Compare vi 48 *ui dominationis conuulsus et mutatus sit.* Ramsay is doubtless right when, following Tarver, he says: 'Intellectually and morally he stood head and shoulders above the evil emperors of the first century. Tacitus visited upon him the sins of the worst of his successors.'

IV. GERMANICUS AND HIS FAMILY

For an adequate understanding of Book IV of the *Annals* it is necessary to know something of Germanicus and his family.

The early days of the reign of Tiberius were disturbed by mutinies in the armies of the Rhine and Danube. On the Rhine there was a further danger, viz. the wonderful influence of Germanicus with his soldiers, who had given him that familiar title, his only name in history. Germanicus Caesar, governor of Gaul and commander of the eight legions on the German frontier, was marked out as the successor of Tiberius, his uncle and adoptive father; and 'the troops of Lower Germany conceived the design of hastening his reign[1].' But Germanicus himself had no ambitious hopes of empire. Accordingly he took the oath of allegiance to Tiberius, and distracted his troops from thoughts of mutiny by a famous series of German campaigns, 14–16 A.D.

The third and last campaign of Germanicus was planned on a great scale. He placed his troops on board a fleet of 1000 vessels and sailed through the *Fossa Drusiana* (the canal of his father Drusus), and the Zuyder Zee to the Ocean, landing his forces at the mouth of the Ems. The Germans could no longer resist effectually; and Germanicus only wanted another year for the complete subjugation of the whole country from the Rhine to the Elbe. But the Emperor, maintaining the policy of Augustus that the Roman rule could not be extended to that river, recalled Germanicus to Rome. In May, 17 A.D., he celebrated a splendid triumph over the conquered Germans.

He was then sent to the East with a far-reaching command including all the provinces beyond the Hellespont.

[1] Bury, *l. c.*, p. 167.

He arranged the long-standing difficulty of the throne of Armenia, and converted the client-kingdoms of Cappadocia and Commagene into Roman provinces. Then came a great tragedy. Germanicus died at Antioch, the victim, it was said, of foul play on the part of his rival Piso, governor of Syria. He stands out as a charming popular hero,—'one of the short-lived loves of the Roman people.' The death of his son Drusus in 23 A.D. was a very grievous blow to Tiberius. Nothing was left but to adopt the two eldest sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus. But his widow Agrippina was not satisfied even with this proceeding, which marked out these two princes as successors of Tiberius.

It is interesting to observe what vigorous language Tacitus habitually employs in writing of the family of Germanicus: e.g. iv 12 *domum Germanici reuirescere occulti laetabantur:* and in the same chapter, *pudicitia Agrippinae inpenetrabili;* and again, *ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus studiis inhiare dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent.* Compare also iv 15, referring to Nero, *recenti memoria Germanici illum aspici, illum audiri rebantur;* also iv 17, 18, 19; and 52 *Agrippina semper atrox.* Compare 53 *peruicax irae*, and the rest of the chapter.

The turning-point in the history comes when Sejanus proposes to marry the younger Livia (Livilla). Foiled in this by Tiberius, he makes up his mind to destroy the house of Germanicus.

V. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TITLE PRINCEPS

That the title *princeps* is merely *princeps senatus* written short is the view taken by Merivale, Bekker, Marquardt, and most authorities. Pelham[1] urges that, if *princeps* is an abbreviation of *princeps senatus*, the abbreviation must have taken place remarkably early; for no trace exists of the full title as applied even to Augustus. So far as the evidence of literature and inscriptions goes, the title is, from the first, *princeps* and nothing more. Ovid and Horace use *princeps*, but with no hint of an understood *senatus*.

It is extremely important (Pelham continues) to decide whether Augustus posed before the Roman people as Father of the Senate or as First Citizen,—in other words, as the leader of the Roman nobility or as the elect of the Roman people. There is nothing in the inscriptions to suggest that the title was ever anything but *princeps*. The employment of the term by Republican writers is in favour of Pelham's view. The use of *princeps* and *principes* applied to a citizen or citizens holding a foremost place in the state is an almost literal anticipation of the Augustan *principatus*. Men had already grasped the idea of placing at the head of the republican system a constitutional primate. Cicero introduced into his sketch of an ideal polity (the *de re publica*) a novel figure, that of a single *moderator rei publicae*, such no doubt as he hoped Pompey might prove himself.

In his letter *ad fam.* vi 6, Cicero says that Caesar might have enjoyed the great position of First Citizen (not the military despot he had since become)—*esset hic quidem clarus in toga et princeps.*

The idea of simple primacy appears again in *ad Att.* viii 9

[1] It will be seen that I have borrowed freely from his discussion 'Princeps or Princeps Senatus?' in his *Essays on Roman History*.

(written 49 B.C.), where Caesar is said to wish for nothing better than *principe Pompeio sine metu uiuere.*

Pelham infers from these and similar passages that the notion of a First Citizen at the head of affairs, of a *princeps* or *princeps ciuitatis*, was already familiar to the Roman public, when Augustus set to work to re-organise the state. Pelham adds that by imperial writers the term *principatus* is carefully distinguished from *dominatio*, *regnum*, and *dictatura* as a constitutional authority. Compare *Ann.* i 9 *non regno tamen neque dictatura sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam.*

The Emperor was imperator, consul, etc. But to describe his relation to the whole citizen body—as merely the first of themselves—no term was so suitable as *princeps.*

VI. THE SENATE UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE

Boissier[1] is justly surprised at modern historians, who, (i) because Tiberius one day remarked that the Emperor must be the servant of the Senate, and (ii) because Nero invited the Senate to resume its ancient functions, imagine that they really restored them. They have, he says, even invented a new word—'dyarchy'—to designate this joint government[2].

[1] *Tacitus and other Roman Studies*, p. 139.

[2] Compare Stobart, 'The Senate under Augustus,' *Classical Quarterly*, vol. ii, p. 298:—'If we choose our term according to the spirit, then undoubtedly Monarchy is the only appropriate definition. Not only had the Princeps gathered into his hand all the functions of the executive, but the deliberative was *de facto* subordinate to him. When the deliberative organ becomes an advisory council selected by one man, and when the electing body merely registers the choice of that single person, then it is Monarchy, however temperately conducted. In every sense Dyarchy is an unsatisfactory term.'

Tacitus, a champion of the Senate, writing of the early part of the reign of Tiberius (iii 60), tells us how the Emperor, while strengthening the powers of the Principate, yielded to the Senate the semblance of its ancient authority, by referring to its discussion petitions from the Provinces.

A fine sight it was (writes Tacitus)—*magna eius diei species fuit*—to see the Senate inquiring into these matters, free as in olden days to cancel or confirm. But Tacitus knows that this power is a mere phantom. There was no joint government. It differed in no respect from monarchy,—*non alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet* (iv 33).

There remained (according to Stobart[1]) another motive for admitting the Senate to partnership, a motive so simple and practical that it almost eludes the notice of the constitutional historian. Until a new machinery could be created, until a competent civil service could be organised, the mere burden of administration was more than one man could bear. ...... By degrees a civil service is organised. Then, as there is less need of the Senate, its importance steadily decreases. This is the explanation of the paradox that the more Augustus seems to retire from public offices, the more business is absorbed into the imperial chancellery.

In iv 22, 34, 42, and other passages we find Tiberius presiding at the senatorial high court of justice. The power of pardon has passed entirely to the Emperor. It is proposed in the Senate (iv 30) that Serenus should be scourged to death *more maiorum*. The Emperor exercises his power of *intercessio*[2]; and Serenus is banished.

[1] *l.c.*, p. 303.

[2] Compare Stobart, *l.c.*:—'The *tribunicia potestas* was not conferred in a lump by any such formula as *tribuniciam potestatem habeto*, but by a series of laws,—personal *sacrosanctitas* and the right to sit on the Tribunes' Bench in 36 B.C., *ius auxilii* in 30 B.C. and the rest in 23 B.C., when it first begins to be

But in iv 33 Tacitus laments the monotony of his task,—of prosecutions heaped on prosecutions, of the betrayal of friends, and the ruin of the innocent, of trials all ending in one way. Velleius, as usual, is fulsome in his praise of Tiberius: 'Confidence in the Courts of Law was restored'; and 'With what dignity does he listen attentively to cases as senator and juryman, not as Princeps and Caesar!'

VII. THE PROVINCES UNDER TIBERIUS

In iv 4 Tacitus speaks of Tiberius' pretended wish to visit the provinces and study their defences, especially the disposition of the fleets and of the twenty-five legions on the frontiers of the Empire (iv 5).

Italy (Tacitus tells us) was protected by two fleets, one on either sea,—one stationed at Misenum, the other at Ravenna. The near coast of Gaul was protected by war-ships captured by Augustus at the battle of Actium and sent by him to Forum Julii (Fréjus).

On the Rhine frontier lay eight legions, 'a common defence against Gaul and Germany.' They held the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany,—the head-quarters of the one being at Moguntiacum (Mainz), of the other at Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne).

The Danube frontier was held by six legions,—two stationed in Pannonia, two in Moesia, and two in Dalmatia. The frontier between the Upper Rhine and the Upper Danube was marked by a *limes* or 'causeway' built later.

Thrace was under Rhoemetalces and the sons of Cotys.

reckoned as complete. The *ius relationis* (the right of making a motion) is merely a part of the remaining tribunician functions.' Stobart objects to Stuart Jones' statement (*Roman Empire*, p. 3) that Augustus received in 36 B.C. the whole tribunician power, including *intercessio*.

See note on iv 5, 15. Colchis, Iberia, and Albania formed a belt from the Euxine to the Caspian, and were protected (says Tacitus proudly) 'by our name.'

Four legions held 'the vast sweep of country' from the borders of Syria to the Euphrates.

Egypt was held by two legions stationed at Alexandria.

Mauretania had been handed over to King Juba: the rest of Africa was held by two legions.

In Spain there were three legions. See note on iv 5, 7.

This list makes up a total of twenty-five legions for the time of Tiberius.

The City of Rome had its own garrison,—three Urban cohorts and ten cohorts of Praetorian guards.

Tacitus adds: 'At suitable points in the provinces the allied fleets were stationed, and the auxiliary horse and foot, representing a total strength not much inferior to that of our own forces.' See last explanatory note on iv 5.

In iv 13 come words which strike the key-note of Tiberius' provincial government,—*preces sociorum tractabat.* Tacitus gives frequent examples of his wisdom in relieving provinces which had suffered disasters. They enjoyed unwonted happiness in his time; and it is important to notice that the Imperial provinces were better treated than the Senatorial. We read of frequent prosecutions of Imperial governors and procurators; and the troops are subject to strict discipline. It was regarded as good fortune for a province to be transferred from the control of the Senate to that of the Emperor. Several proconsuls and several procurators were convicted during his reign, e.g. Granius Marcellus proconsul of Asia, and C. Silanus proconsul of the same province; Caesius Cordus procurator of Crete, and Vibius Serenus procurator of Further Spain. For other prosecutions see iv 13 and 15. The Emperor's general policy towards the provinces is given in the words put into his mouth by

Suetonius: 'It is the part of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, not to flay them.'

The following chapters in Book IV are also important for the history of provincial management,--23–26, 43, 44, 46–51, 72–74.

This passage from *Tiberius the Tyrant* (p. 380) is useful:—'Tiberius treated the Senate with formal respect, and did his best to make it worthy of its opportunities. If he could have avoided interfering with its administration of its own provinces, he would have done so. Tiberius, like Augustus, supplied himself with an inner Council of the Senate; and it is possible that on most occasions the inner Council represented the whole body.' But he did not restrict himself to Senatorial counsellors; and we are told that, in dealing with provincial questions, he was always careful to provide himself with the expert evidence of men who knew the localities concerned. The Senate was curiously indifferent to municipal matters. The rank of senator eventually became little more than an honourable distinction. The difference between Senatorial and Imperial Provinces did not last long, the Imperial administration proving better suited to the needs of the Empire.'

VIII. MAIESTAS

Maiestas populi Romani and *maiestatem minuere* or *laedere* are phrases belonging to Republican Rome. Cicero (*de inuentione* ii 53) gives this definition:—*maiestatem minuere est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi aut eorum, quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare.* Compare *Verres* ii 88 *crimen maiestatis*, 'charge of treason,' and *pro Cluentio* 97 *legionem sollicitare res est quae lege maiestatis tenetur.* The scope of *maiestas* was strictly defined by a law of Julius Caesar. It was extended by Augustus; but he made little use of it.

See Tarver, *l. c.*, p. 304 :—'The history of the *lex maiestatis* is not absolutely clear; but it is certain that comparatively early in the Republican period the laws provided for the punishment of a Roman citizen who by his acts diminished the majesty of the Republic. Cowardice in the field, premature surrender, dishonourable breaches of faith by which the dignity of the State was impaired, were deeds punishable under this law.'

Under Tiberius *maiestas* gained far-reaching importance. He employed it for his own security. Any insult offered to the Emperor in speech or writing was brought under the statute. By its means he thwarted any latent opposition among the senators, who were led to fear that any hostility to the new régime might be looked upon as treason.

In iv 6 Tacitus says that the laws were well administered except proceedings for treason (*maiestatis quaestio*). In iv 19 it is stated that Silius and his wife could easily have been condemned on charges of *repetundae* (extortion); but the whole business was managed *maiestatis quaestione*; and Silius anticipated conviction by suicide. In iv 21 Calpurnius Piso, accused of a private conversation *aduersum maiestatem*, escapes condemnation by opportune death.

The scope of *maiestas* was extended by the patronage which Tiberius afforded to the *delatores*. The phrase *nomen deferre* is used several times in Cicero for 'to accuse,' 'to inform against.' Also he uses *delatio* several times as a general term for 'accusation,' 'denunciation.' In Silver Latin *deferre* is used with accusative of person and genitive of charge; and *delator* is often used for 'informer,' sometimes with genitive of charge, as *delator maiestatis* (ii 50) and *delator Papiae legis* (Suet. *Nero* 10). A quarter of the property of the convicted person went by law to the *delatores* (iv 20).

When Tiberius came to the throne, he regarded the system of *delatio* as a useful engine for the enforcing of justice.

Afterwards he saw its odious character and tried to check it by instituting a special court of fifteen senators. Then he relapsed owing to the evil influence of Sejanus; see *Annals* vi throughout. There was no public prosecutor at Rome. Hence it was convenient to have these private *delatores*,—a term originally applied to those who gave information in respect of debts due to the exchequer. In an economic crisis, which took place in 33 A.D., *delatores* made an attack on money-lending capitalists, who set aside two laws of Julius Caesar. Tacitus (vi 16) describes them as *magna uis accusatorum*. Compare iv 36 *ut quis destrictior accusator uelut sacrosanctus erat.*

In iv 30 we are told that it was proposed in the Senate that rewards to *delatores* should be abolished in the case of those found guilty of *maiestas*. Tiberius *contra morem suum* defends them as 'guardians' of justice. Tacitus' comment is: *sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum,...per praemia eliciebantur*. In iv 34 we read of a further stretch in the employment of the law of *maiestas*. It is made to reach Cremutius Cordus for a passage in a book, where the eulogy is awarded to Cassius, which had once been spoken over him by Brutus. We are told about Cordus' trial, his eloquent defence, and how he starved himself to death.

The following chapters are *loci classici* on the subject of *delatio* and *maiestas*:—iv 21, 42, 66.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS:

BOOK IV.

CHAPTERS 1—16: EVENTS OF 23 A.D.

1. C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae rei publicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, saeuire ipse aut saeuientibus uires praebere. initium et causa penes Aelium Seianum cohortibus praetoriis praefectum, cuius de potentia supra memoraui: nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum ierit expediam. genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuuenta Gaium Caesarem diui Augusti nepotem sectatus, mox Tiberium uariis artibus deuinxit, adeo ut obscurum aduersum alios sibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe isdem artibus uictus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio uiguit ceciditque. corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminator; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa modo largitio

et luxus, saepius industria ac uigilantia, haud minus noxiae quotiens parando regno finguntur.

2. Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et uisu inter se fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus oreretur. praetendebat lasciuire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruat, maiore auxilio pariter subueniri; et seuerius acturos, si uallum statuatur procul urbis inlecebris. ut perfecta sunt castra, inrepere paulatim militares animos adeundo, appellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse deligere. neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut prouinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret.

3. Ceterum plena Caesarum domus, iuuenis filius, nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant; et quia ui tot simul corripere intutum, dolus interualla scelerum poscebat. placuit tamen occultior uia et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur. nam Drusus, inpatiens aemuli et animo commotior, orto forte iurgio intenderat Seiano manus et contra tendentis os uerberauerat. igitur cuncta temptanti promptissimum uisum ad uxorem eius Liuiam conuertere, quae soror Germanici, formae initio aetatis indecorae, mox pulchritudine praecellebat. hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, et postquam primi flagitii potitus est (neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit), ad coniugii spem, consortium

regni et necem mariti impulit. atque illa, cui auunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et praesentibus flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret. sumitur in conscientiam Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liuiae, specie artis frequens secretis. pellit domo Seianus uxorem Apicatam, ex qua tres liberos genuerat, ne paelici suspectaretur. sed magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diuersa interdum consilia adferebat.

4. Interim anni principio Drusus ex Germanici liberis togam uirilem sumpsit, quaeque fratri eius Neroni decreuerat senatus repetita. addidit orationem Caesar, multa cum laude filii sui, quod patria beneuolentia in fratris liberos foret. nam Drusus, quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse, aequus adulescentibus aut certe non aduersus habebatur. exin uetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in prouincias consilium refertur. multitudinem ueteranorum praetexebat imperator et dilectibus supplendos exercitus: nam uoluntarium militem deesse, ac, si suppeditet, non eadem uirtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac uagi sponte militiam sumant. percensuitque cursim numerum legionum et quas prouincias tutarentur. quod mihi quoque exsequendum reor, quae tunc Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit angustius imperitatum.

5. Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Rauennam, proximumque Galliae litus rostratae naues praesidebant, quas Actiaca uictoria

captas Augustus in oppidum Foroiuliense miserat ualido cum remige. sed praecipuum robur Rhenum iuxta, commune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones erant. Hispaniae recens perdomitae tribus habebantur. Mauros Iuba rex acceperat donum populi Romani. cetera Africae per duas legiones parique numero Aegyptus, dehinc initio ab Suriae usque ad flumen Euphraten, quantum ingenti terrarum sinu ambitur, quattuor legionibus coërcita, accolis Hibero Albanoque et aliis regibus, qui magnitudine nostra proteguntur aduersum externa imperia. et Thraeciam Rhoemetalces ac liberi Cotyis, ripamque Danuuii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia attinebant, totidem apud Delmatiam locatis, quae positu regionis a tergo illis, ac si repentinum auxilium Italia posceret, haud procul accirentur, quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres urbanae, nouem praetoriae cohortes, Etruria ferme Vmbriaque delectae aut uetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus Romanis. at apud idonea prouinciarum sociae triremes alaeque et auxilia cohortium, neque multo secus in iis uirium; sed persequi incertum fuerit, cum ex usu temporis huc illuc mearent, gliscerent numero et aliquando minuerentur.

6. Congruens crediderim recensere ceteras quoque rei publicae partes, quibus modis ad eam diem habitae sint, quoniam Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit. iam primum publica negotia et priuatorum maxima apud patres tractabantur, dabaturque primoribus disserere, et in adulationem lapsos cohibebat ipse; mandabatque

honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, inlustres domi artes spectando, ut satis constaret non alios potiores fuisse. sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species; minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; legesque, si maiestatis quaestio eximeretur, bono in usu. at frumenta et pecuniae uectigales, cetera publicorum fructuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur. res suas Caesar spectatissimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama mandabat, semelque adsumpti tenebantur prorsus sine modo, cum plerique isdem negotiis insenescerent. plebes acri quidem annona fatigabatur, sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe. quin infecunditati terrarum aut asperis maris obuiam iit, quantum impendio diligentiaque poterat. et ne prouinciae nouis oneribus turbarentur utque uetera sine auaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent prouidebat; corporum uerbera, ademptiones bonorum aberant. rari per Italiam Caesaris agri, modesta seruitia, intra paucos libertos domus; ac si quando cum priuatis disceptaret, forum et ius.

7. Quae cuncta non quidem comi uia, sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec morte Drusi uerterentur; nam, dum superfuit, mansere, quia Seianus incipiente adhuc potentia bonis consiliis notescere uolebat, et ultor metuebatur non occultus odii, sed crebro querens incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium uocari. et quantum superesse ut collega dicatur? primas dominandi spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus, adesse studia et ministros. exstructa iam sponte praefecti castra, datos in

manum milites; cerni effigiem eius in monimentis Cn. Pompei; communes illi cum familia Drusorum fore nepotes: precandam post haec modestiam, ut contentus esset. neque raro neque apud paucos talia iaciebat, et secreta quoque eius corrupta uxore prodebantur.

8. Igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deligit uenenum, quo paulatim inrepente fortuitus morbus adsimularetur. id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est. ceterum Tiberius per omnes ualetudinis eius dies, nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto necdum sepulto, curiam ingressus est. consulesque sede uulgari per speciem maestitiae sedentes honoris locique admonuit, et effusum in lacrimas senatum uicto gemitu simul oratione continua erexit; non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus; uix propinquorum adloquia tolerari, uix diem aspici a plerisque lugentium. neque illos inbecillitatis damnandos; se tamen fortiora solacia e complexu rei publicae petiuisse. miseratusque Augustae extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum et uergentem aetatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium malorum leuamenta, inducerentur petiuit. egressi consules firmatos adloquio adulescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt. quibus adprensis 'patres conscripti, hos' inquit 'orbatos parente tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum, quamquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foueret, attolleret, sibique et posteris conformaret. erepto

Druso preces ad uos conuerto disque et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis maioribus genitos, suscipite, regite, uestram meamque uicem explete. hi uobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco. ita nati estis, ut bona malaque uestra ad rem publicam pertineant.'

9. Magno ea fletu et mox precationibus faustis audita; ac, si modum orationi posuisset, misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium impleuerat: ad uana et totiens inrisa reuolutus, de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent, uero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit. memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur, plerisque additis, ut ferme amat posterior adulatio. funus imaginum pompa maxime inlustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraeque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur.

10. In tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimis maximaeque fidei auctoribus memorata sunt rettuli; sed non omiserim eorundem temporum rumorem, ualidum adeo, ut nondum exolescat. corrupta ad scelus Liuia Seianum Lygdi quoque spadonis animum uinxisse, quod is aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros erat; deinde inter conscios ubi locus ueneficii tempusque composita sint, eo audaciae prouectum, ut uerteret et occulto indicio Drusum ueneni in patrem arguens moneret Tiberium uitandam potionem, quae prima ei apud filium epulanti offerretur. ea fraude captum senem,

postquam conuiuium inierat, exceptum poculum Druso tradidisse; atque illo ignaro et iuueniliter hauriente auctam suspicionem, tamquam metu et pudore sibimet inrogaret mortem quam patri struxerat.

11. Haec uulgo iactata super id quod nullo auctore certo firmantur prompte refutaueris. quis enim mediocri prudentia, nedum Tiberius tantis rebus exercitus, inaudito filio exitium offerret, idque sua manu et nullo ad paenitendum regressu? quin potius ministrum ueneni excruciaret, auctorem exquireret, insita denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora aduersum unicum et nullius ante flagitii conpertum uteretur? sed quia Seianus facinorum omnium repertor habebatur, ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris et ceterorum in utrumque odio quamuis fabulosa et immania credebantur, atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus. ordo alioqui sceleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus, tormentis Eudemi ac Lygdi patefactus est. neque quisquam scriptor tam infensus extitit ut Tiberio obiectaret, cum omnia alia conquirerent intenderentque. mihi tradendi arguendique rumoris causa fuit ut claro sub exemplo falsas auditiones depellerem peteremque ab iis, quorum in manus cura nostra uenerit, ne diuulgata atque incredibilia auide accepta ueris neque in miraculum corruptis antehabeant.

12. Ceterum, laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio, senatus populusque habitum ac uoces dolentum simulatione magis quam libens induebat, domumque Germanici reuirescere occulti laetabantur. quod

principium fauoris et mater Agrippina spem male tegens perniciem adcelerauere. nam Seianus, ubi uidet mortem Drusi inultam interfectoribus, sine maerore publico esse, ferox scelerum, et quia prima prouenerant, uolutare secum quonam modo Germanici liberos peruerteret, quorum non dubia successio. neque spargi uenenum in tres poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia Agrippinae inpenetrabili. igitur contumaciam eius insectari, uetus Augustae odium, recentem Liuiae conscientiam exagitare, ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus studiis inhiare dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent. atque haec callidis criminatoribus, inter quos delegerat Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscae inter intimos auiae et consiliis suis peridoneum (quia Prisca in animo Augustae ualida) anum suapte natura potentiae anxiam insociabilem nurui efficiebat. Agrippinae quoque proximi inliciebantur prauis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare.

13. At Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solaciis accipiens, ius ciuium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque auctore eo senatus consulta, ut ciuitati Cibyraticae apud Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaiam, motu terrae labefactis, subueniretur remissione tributi in triennium. et Vibius Serenus pro consule ulterioris Hispaniae, de ui publica damnatus, ob atrocitatem morum in insulam Amorgum deportatur. Carsidius Sacerdos, reus tamquam frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuuisset, absoluitur, eiusdemque criminis C. Gracchus. hunc comitem

exilii admodum infantem pater Sempronius in insulam Cercinam tulerat. illic adultus inter extorres et liberalium artium nescios, mox per Africam ac Siciliam mutando sordidas merces sustentabatur; neque tamen effugit magnae fortunae pericula. ac ni Aelius Lamia et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem protexissent, claritudine infausti generis et paternis aduersis foret abstractus.

14. Is quoque annus legationes Graecarum ciuitatium habuit, Samiis Iunonis, Cois Aesculapii delubro uetustum asyli ius ut firmaretur petentibus. Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur, quis praecipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua tempestate Graeci conditis per Asiam urbibus ora maris potiebantur. neque dispar apud Coos antiquitas, et accedebat meritum ex loco; nam ciues Romanos templo Aesculapii induxerant, cum iussu regis Mithridatis apud cunctas Asiae insulas et urbes trucidarentur. uariis dehinc et saepius inritis praetorum questibus, postremo Caesar de immodestia histrionum rettulit: multa ab iis in publicum seditiose, foeda per domos temptari; Oscum quondam ludicrum, leuissimae apud uulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et uirium uenisse, ut auctoritate patrum coërcendum sit. pulsi tum histriones Italia.

15. Idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adfecit, alterum ex geminis Drusi liberis extinguendo, neque minus morte amici. is fuit Lucilius Longus, omnium illi tristium laetorumque socius unusque e senatoribus Rhodii secessus comes. ita quamquam nouo homini censorium funus, effigiem

apud forum Augusti publica pecunia patres decreuere, apud quos etiam tum cuncta tractabantur, adeo ut procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito accusante prouincia causam dixerit, magna cum adseueratione principis, non se ius nisi in seruitia et pecunias familiares dedisse; quod si uim praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo mandata sua: audirent socios. ita reus cognito negotio damnatur. ob quam ultionem, et quia priore anno in C. Silanum uindicatum erat, decreuere Asiae urbes templum Tiberio matrique eius ac senatui. et permissum statuere; egitque Nero grates ea causa patribus atque auo, laetas inter audientium adfectiones, qui recenti memoria Germanici illum aspici, illum audiri rebantur. aderantque iuueni modestia ac forma principe uiro digna, notis in eum Seiani odiis ob periculum gratiora.

16. Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Serui Maluginensis defuncti legendo, simul roganda noua lege disseruit Caesar. nam patricios confarreatis parentibus genitos tres simul nominari, ex quis unus legeretur, uetusto more; neque adesse, ut olim, eam copiam, omissa confarreandi adsuetudine aut inter paucos retenta (pluresque eius rei causas adferebat, potissimam penes incuriam uirorum feminarumque; accedere ipsius caerimoniae difficultates, quae consulto uitarentur) et quod exiret e iure patrio qui id flamonium apisceretur quaeque in manum flaminis conueniret. ita medendum senatus decreto aut lege, sicut Augustus quaedam ex horrida illa antiquitate ad praesentem usum flexisset. igitur tractatis

religionibus placitum instituto flaminum nihil demutari; sed lata lex, qua flaminica Dialis sacrorum causa in potestate uiri, cetera promisco feminarum iure ageret. et filius Maluginensis patri suffectus. utque glisceret dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad capessendas caerimonias, decretum Corneliae uirgini, quae in locum Scantiae capiebatur, sestertium uiciens, et quotiens Augusta theatrum introisset, ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret.

CHAPTERS 17—33: EVENTS OF 24 A.D.

17. Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone consulibus pontifices eorumque exemplo ceteri sacerdotes, cum pro incolumitate principis uota susciperent, Neronem quoque et Drusum isdem dis commendauere, non tam caritate iuuenum quam adulatione, quae moribus corruptis perinde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est. nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum uero aequari adulescentes senectae suae inpatienter indoluit; accitosque pontifices percontatus est num id precibus Agrippinae aut minis tribuissent. et illi quidem, quamquam abnuerent, modice perstricti; etenim pars magna e propinquis ipsius aut primores ciuitatis erant. ceterum in senatu oratione monuit in posterum, ne quis mobiles adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad superbiam extolleret. instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque diductam ciuitatem ut ciuili bello; esse qui se partium Agrippinae uocent, ac, ni resistatur, fore plures; neque aliud gliscentis discordiae remedium quam si unus alterue maxime prompti subuerterentur.

18. Qua causa C. Silium et Titium Sabinum adgreditur. amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique, Silio et quod ingentis exercitus septem per annos moderator partisque apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacrouiriani belli uictor, quanto maiore mole procideret, plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur. credebant plerique auctam offensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis suum militem in obsequio durauisse, cum alii ad seditiones prolaberentur; neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si iis quoque legionibus cupido nouandi fuisset. destrui per haec fortunam suam Caesar inparemque tanto merito rebatur. nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, dum uidentur exsolui posse; ubi multum anteuenere, pro gratia odium redditur.

19. Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, caritate Agrippinae inuisa principi. hos corripi dilato ad tempus Sabino placitum, immissusque Varro consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens odiis Seiani per dedecus suum gratificabatur. precante reo breuem moram, dum accusator consulatu abiret, aduersatus est Caesar; solitum quippe magistratibus diem priuatis dicere; nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius uigiliis niteretur, ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet. proprium id Tiberio fuit scelera nuper reperta priscis uerbis obtegere. igitur multa adseueratione, quasi aut legibus cum Silio ageretur aut Varro consul aut illud res publica esset, coguntur patres. silente reo, uel, si defensionem coeptaret, non occultante cuius ira premeretur, conscientia belli Sacrouir diu dissimulatus, uictoria per auaritiam

foedata et uxor Sosia arguebantur. nec dubie repetundarum criminibus haerebant, sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita, et Silius imminentem damnationem uoluntario fine praeuertit.

20. Saeuitum tamen in bona, non ut stipendiariis pecuniae redderentur, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti auulsa, conputatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit. Sosia in exilium pellitur Asinii Galli sententia, qui partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut liberis relinqueretur censuerat. contra M'. Lepidus quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera liberis concessit. hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis grauem et sapientem uirum fuisse comperior; nam pleraque ab saeuis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium uiguerit. unde dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis uacuum. at Messalinus Cotta haud minus claris maioribus, sed animo diuersus, censuit cauendum senatus consulto ut quamquam insontes magistratus et culpae alienae nescii prouincialibus uxorum criminibus perinde quam suis plecterentur.

21. Actum dehinc de Calpurnio Pisone, nobili ac feroci uiro. is namque, ut rettuli, cessurum se urbe ob factiones accusatorum in senatu clamitauerat et spreta potentia Augustae trahere in ius Vrgulaniam

domoque principis excire ausus erat. quae in praesens Tiberius ciuiliter habuit; sed in animo reuoluente iras, etiam si impetus offensionis languerat, memoria ualebat. Pisonem Q. Granius secreti sermonis incusauit aduersum maiestatem habiti, adiecitque in domo eius uenenum esse eumque gladio accinctum introire curiam. quod ut atrocius uero tramissum; ceterorum, quae multa cumulabantur, receptus est reus, neque peractus ob mortem opportunam. relatum et de Cassio Seuero exule, qui sordidae originis, maleficae uitae, sed orandi ualidus, per immodicas inimicitias ut iudicio iurati senatus Cretam amoueretur effecerat; atque illic eadem actitando recentia ueteraque odia aduertit, bonisque exutus, interdicto igni atque aqua, saxo Seripho consenuit.

22. Per idem tempus Plautius Siluanus praetor incertis causis Aproniam coniugem in praeceps iecit; tractusque ad Caesarem ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse somno grauis atque eo ignarus, et uxor sponte mortem sumpsisset. non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, uisit cubiculum, in quo reluctantis et impulsae uestigia cernebantur. refert ad senatum, datisque iudicibus Vrgulania Siluani auia pugionem nepoti misit. quod perinde creditum, quasi principis monitu, ob amicitiam Augustae cum Vrgulania. reus, frustra temptato ferro, uenas praebuit exsoluendas. mox Numantina, prior uxor eius, accusata iniecisse carminibus et ueneficiis uaecordiam marito, insons iudicatur.

23. Is demum annus populum Romanum longo aduersum Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absoluit.

nam priores duces, ubi impetrando triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant, hostem omittebant; iamque tres laureatae in urbe statuae, et adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui, Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuuenta incurioso, libertos regios et seruilia imperia bello mutauerant. erat illi praedarum receptor ac socius populandi rex Garamantum, non ut cum exercitu incederet, sed missis leuibus copiis, quae ex longinquo in maius audiebantur. ipsaque e prouincia, ut quis fortunae inops, moribus turbidus, promptius ruebant, quia Caesar post res a Blaeso gestas, quasi nullis iam in Africa hostibus, reportari nonam legionem iusserat, nec pro consule eius anni P. Dolabella retinere ausus erat, iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens.

24. Igitur Tacfarinas, disperso rumore rem Romanam aliis quoque ab nationibus lacerari eoque paulatim Africa decedere, ac posse reliquos circumueniri, si cuncti, quibus libertas seruitio potior, incubuissent, auget uires positisque castris Thubuscum oppidum circumsidet. at Dolabella, contracto quod erat militum, terrore nominis Romani et quia Numidae peditum aciem ferre nequeunt, primo sui incessu soluit obsidium locorumque opportuna permuniuit. simul principes Musulamiorum defectionem coeptantes securi percutit. dein, quia pluribus aduersum Tacfarinatem expeditionibus cognitum, non graui nec uno incursu consectandum hostem uagum, excito cum popularibus rege Ptolemaeo quattuor agmina parat, quae legatis aut tribunis data; et

praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere. ipse consultor aderat omnibus.

25. Nec multo post adfertur Numidas apud castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzea, positis mapalibus consedisse, fisos loco, quia uastis circum saltibus claudebatur. tum expeditae cohortes alaeque, quam in partem ducerentur ignarae, cito agmine rapiuntur. simulque coeptus dies et concentu tubarum ac truci clamore aderant semisomnos in barbaros, praepeditis Numidarum equis aut diuersos pastus pererrantibus. ab Romanis confertus pedes, dispositae turmae, cuncta proelio prouisa. hostibus contra omnium nesciis non arma, non ordo, non consilium, sed pecorum modo trahi, occidi, capi. infensus miles memoria laborum et aduersum eludentes optatae totiens pugnae, se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant. differtur per manipulos, Tacfarinatem omnes, notum tot proeliis, consectentur; non nisi duce interfecto requiem belli fore. at ille deiectis circum stipatoribus uinctoque iam filio et effusis undique Romanis, ruendo in tela captiuitatem haud inulta morte effugit. isque finis armis impositus.

26. Dolabellae petenti abnuit triumphalia Tiberius, Seiano tribuens, ne Blaesi auunculi eius laus obsolesceret. sed neque Blaesus ideo inlustrior, et huic negatus honor gloriam intendit; quippe minore exercitu insignes captiuos, caedem ducis bellique confecti famam deportarat. sequebantur et Garamantum legati, raro in urbe uisi, quos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens, sed culpae nescia ad satis

faciendum populo Romano miserat. cognitis dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis, repetitus ex uetusto more honos, missusque e senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera, daret regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.

27. Eadem aestate mota per Italiam seruilis belli semina fors oppressit. auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles, primo coetibus clandestinis apud Brundisium et circumiecta oppida, mox positis propalam libellis ad libertatem uocabat agrestia per longinquos saltus et ferocia seruitia, cum uelut munere deum tres biremes adpulere ad usus commeantium illo mari. et erat isdem regionibus Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui prouincia uetere ex more calles euenerant: is disposita classiariorum copia coeptantem cum maxime coniurationem disiecit. missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum ualida manu ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit, iam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat inmensum, minore in dies plebe ingenua.

28. Isdem consulibus miseriarum ac saeuitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius (nomen utrique Vibius Serenus) in senatum inducti sunt. ab exilio retractus inluuieque ac squalore obsitus et tum catena uinctus pater oranti filio comparatur. adulescens multis munditiis, alacri uultu, structas principi insidias, missos in Galliam concitores belli index idem et testis dicebat; adnectebatque Caecilium Cornutum praetorium ministrauisse pecuniam; qui taedio curarum, et quia periculum pro exitio

habebatur, mortem in se festinauit. at contra reus, nihil infracto animo, obuersus in filium quatere uincla, uocare ultores deos ut sibi quidem redderent exilium, ubi procul tali more ageret, filium autem quandoque supplicia sequerentur. adseuerabatque innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum; idque facile intellectu, si proderentur alii; non enim se caedem principis et res nouas uno socio cogitasse.

29. Tum accusator Cn. Lentulum et Seium Tuberonem nominat, magno pudore Caesaris, cum primores ciuitatis, intimi ipsius amici, Lentulus senectutis extremae, Tubero defecto corpore, tumultus hostilis et turbandae rei publicae accerserentur. sed hi quidem statim exempti: in patrem ex seruis quaesitum, et quaestio aduersa accusatori fuit. qui scelere uecors, simul uulgi rumore territus, robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas minitantium, cessit urbe. ac retractus Rauenna exsequi accusationem adigitur, non occultante Tiberio uetus odium aduersum exulem Serenum. nam post damnatum Libonem missis ad Caesarem litteris exprobrauerat suum tantum studium sine fructu fuisse, addideratque quaedam contumacius quam tutum apud aures superbas et offensioni proniores. ea Caesar octo post annos rettulit, medium tempus uarie arguens, etiam si tormenta peruicacia seruorum contra euenissent.

30. Dictis dein sententiis ut Serenus more maiorum puniretur, quo molliret inuidiam, intercessit. Gallus Asinius cum Gyaro aut Donusa claudendum censeret, id quoque aspernatus est, egenam aquae

utramque insulam referens dandosque uitae usus cui uita concederetur. ita Serenus Amorgum reportatur. et, quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat, actum de praemiis accusatorum abolendis, si quis maiestatis postulatus ante perfectum iudicium se ipse uita priuauisset. ibaturque in eam sententiam, ni durius contraque morem suum palam pro accusatoribus Caesar inritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti conquestus esset: subuerterent potius iura quam custodes eorum amouerent. sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum et ne poenis quidem umquam satis coërcitum, per praemia eliciebantur.

31. His tam adsiduis tamque maestis modica laetitia intericitur, quod C. Cominium equitem Romanum, probrosi in se carminis conuictum, Caesar precibus fratris, qui senator erat, concessit. quo magis mirum habebatur gnarum meliorum, et quae fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle. neque enim socordia peccabat; nec occultum est, quando ex ueritate, quando adumbrata laetitia facta imperatorum celebrentur. quin ipse, compositus alias et uelut eluctantium uerborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur, quotiens subueniret. at P. Suillium, quaestorem quondam Germanici, cum Italia arceretur conuictus pecuniam ob rem iudicandam cepisse, amouendum in insulam censuit, tanta contentione animi ut iure iurando obstringeret e re publica id esse. quod aspere acceptum ad praesens mox in laudem uertit regresso Suillio; quem uidit sequens aetas praepotentem, uenalem et Claudii principis

amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene usum. eadem poena in Catum Firmium senatorem statuitur, tamquam falsis maiestatis criminibus sororem petiuisset. Catus, ut rettuli, Libonem inlexerat insidiis, deinde indicio perculerat. eius operae memor Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, exilium deprecatus est; quo minus senatu pelleretur non obstitit.

32. Pleraque eorum quae rettuli quaeque referam parua forsitan et leuia memoratu uideri non nescius sum; sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui ueteres populi Romani res composuere. ingentia illi bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos captosque reges, aut si quando ad interna praeuerterent, discordias consulum aduersum tribunos, agrarias frumentariasque leges, plebis et optimatium certamina libero egressu memorabant. nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota quippe aut modice lacessita pax, maestae urbis res et princeps proferendi imperi incuriosus erat. non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu leuia, ex quis magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur.

33. Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt: delecta ex iis et consociata rei publicae forma laudari facilius quam euenire, uel si euenit, haud diuturna esse potest. igitur ut olim plebe ualida, uel cum patres pollerent, noscenda uulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatium ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic conuerso statu neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquiri tradique in

rem fuerit, quia pauci prudentia honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt, plures aliorum euentis docentur. ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis adferunt. nam situs gentium, uarietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum. nos saeua iussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et easdem exitu causas coniungimus, obuia rerum similitudine et satietate. tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus obtrectator, neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanasne acies laetius extuleris; at multorum, qui Tiberio regente poenam uel infamias subiere, posteri manent. utque familiae ipsae iam extinctae sint, reperias qui ob similitudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent. etiam gloria ac uirtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diuersa arguens. sed ad inceptum redeo.

CHAPTERS 34—45: EVENTS OF 25 A.D.

34. Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius Cordus postulatur, nouo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset. accusabant Satrius Secundus et Pinarius Natta, Seiani clientes. id perniciabile reo, et Caesar truci uultu defensionem accipiens, quam Cremutius, relinquendae uitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: 'Verba mea, patres conscripti, arguuntur; adeo factorum innocens sum. sed neque haec in principem aut principis parentem, quos lex maiestatis amplectitur: Brutum et Cassium laudauisse dicor, quorum res gestas cum plurimi composuerint, nemo sine honore memorauit. Titus Liuius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiae eorum offecit. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium, hunc Brutum nusquam latrones et parricidas, quae nunc uocabula inponuntur, saepe ut insignes uiros nominat. Asinii Pollionis scripta egregiam eorundem memoriam tradunt; Messalla Coruinus imperatorem suum Cassium praedicabat; et uterque opibus atque honoribus peruiguere. Marci Ciceronis libro, quo

Catonem caelo aequauit, quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, uelut apud iudices, respondit? Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent; carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur; sed ipse diuus Iulius, ipse diuus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere, haud facile dixerim, moderatione magis an sapientia. namque spreta exolescunt: si irascare, adgnita uidentur.

35. 'Non attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita; aut si quis aduertit, dictis dicta ultus est. sed maxime solutum et sine obtrectatore fuit prodere de iis, quos mors odio aut gratiae exemisset. num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto ac Philippenses campos obtinentibus belli ciuilis causa populum per contiones incendo? an illi quidem septuagensimum ante annum perempti, quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas ne uictor quidem aboleuit, sic partem memoriae apud scriptores retinent? suum cuique decus posteritas rependit; nec deerunt, si damnatio ingruit, qui non modo Cassii et Bruti, sed etiam mei meminerint.' egressus dein senatu uitam abstinentia finiuit. libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres; sed manserunt occultati et editi. quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, qui praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aeui memoriam. nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas, neque aliud externi reges aut qui eadem saeuitia usi sunt, nisi dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperere.

36. Ceterum postulandis reis tam continuus annus fuit ut feriarum Latinarum diebus praefectum urbis Drusum, auspicandi gratia tribunal ingressum, adierit Calpurnius Saluianus in Sextum Marium; quod a Caesare palam increpitum causa exilii Saluiano fuit. obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum diui Augusti, additis uiolentiae criminibus aduersum ciues Romanos. et amisere libertatem quam bello Mithridatis meruerant, circumsessi nec minus sua constantia quam praesidio Luculli pulso rege. at Fonteius Capito, qui pro consule Asiam curauerat, absoluitur, comperto ficta in eum crimina per Vibium Serenum. neque tamen id Sereno noxae fuit, quem odium publicum tutiorem faciebat. nam, ut quis destrictior accusàtor, uelut sacrosanctus erat: leues, ignobiles poenis adficiebantur.

37. Per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum legatis orauit ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrique eius exstrueret. qua occasione Caesar, ualidus alioqui spernendis honoribus et respondendum ratus iis, quorum rumore arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse, huiusce modi orationem coepit: 'Scio, patres conscripti, constantiam meam a plerisque desideratam, quod Asiae ciuitatibus nuper idem istud petentibus non sim aduersatus. ergo et prioris silentii defensionem, et quid in futurum statuerim, simul aperiam. cum diuus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius uice legis obseruem, placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo ueneratio senatus

adiungebatur. ceterum, ut semel recepisse ueniam habuerit, ita omnes per prouincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum, superbum; et uanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus uulgatur.

38. 'Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et uos testor et meminisse posteros uolo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus meis dignum, rerum uestrarum prouidum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pauidum credant. haec mihi in animis uestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in odium uertit, pro sepulcris spernuntur. proinde socios ciues et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque uitae quietam et intellegentem humani diuinique iuris mentem duint, illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur.' perstititque posthac secretis etiam sermonibus aspernari talem sui cultum. quod alii modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere; sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos; melius Augustum qui sperauerit. cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptu famae contemni uirtutes.

39. At Seianus, nimia fortuna socors et muliebri insuper cupidine incensus, promissum matrimonium flagitante Liuia, componit ad Caesarem codicillos;

moris quippe tum erat quamquam praesentem scripto adire. eius talis forma fuit: beneuolentia patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insueuisse ut spes uotaque sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures conferret. neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum; excubias ac labores, ut unum e militibus, pro incolumitate imperatoris malle. ac tamen quod pulcherrimum adeptum, ut coniunctione Caesaris dignus crederetur: hinc initium spei. et quoniam audiuerit Augustum in conlocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis consultauisse, ita, si maritus Liuiae quaereretur, haberet in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria usurum. non enim exuere inposita munia; satis aestimare firmari domum aduersum iniquas Agrippinae offensiones, idque liberorum causa; nam sibi multum superque uitae fore, quod tali cum principe expleuisset.

40. Ad ea Tiberius, laudata pietate Seiani suisque in eum beneficiis modice percursis, cum tempus tamquam ad integram consultationem petiuisset, adiunxit ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent; principum diuersam esse sortem, quibus praecipua rerum ad famam dirigenda. ideo se non illuc decurrere, quod promptum rescriptu, posse ipsam Liuiam statuere, nubendum post Drusum an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet; esse illi matrem et auiam, propiora consilia. simplicius acturum, de inimicitiis primum Agrippinae, quas longe acrius arsuras, si matrimonium Liuiae uelut in partes domum Caesarum distraxisset. sic quoque erumpere aemulationem feminarum, eaque discordia

nepotes suos conuelli; quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio? 'falleris enim, Seiane, si te mansurum in eodem ordine putas, et Liuiam, quae Gaio Caesari, mox Druso nupta fuerit, ea mente acturam ut cum equite Romano senescat. ego ut sinam, credisne passuros qui fratrem eius, qui patrem maioresque nostros in summis imperiis uidere? uis tu quidem istum intra locum sistere: sed illi magistratus et primores, qui te inuitum perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt, excessisse iam pridem equestre fastigium longeque antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt perque inuidiam tui me quoque incusant. at enim Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est. mirum hercule, si cum in omnes curas distraheretur immensumque attolli prouideret quem coniunctione tali super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium et quosdam in sermonibus habuit insigni tranquillitate uitae, nullis rei publicae negotiis permixtos. sed si dubitatione Augusti mouemur, quanto ualidius est quod Marco Agrippae, mox mihi conlocauit? atque ego haec pro amicitia non occultaui; ceterum neque tuis neque Liuiae destinatis aduersabor. ipse quid intra animum uolutauerim, quibus adhuc necessitudinibus immiscere te mihi parem, omittam ad praesens referre: id tantum aperiam nihil esse tam excelsum quod non uirtutes istae tuusque in me animus mereantur, datoque tempore uel in senatu uel in contione non reticebo.'

41. Rursum Seianus, non iam de matrimonio, sed altius metuens, tacita suspicionum, uulgi ru-

morem, ingruentem inuidiam deprecatur. ac ne adsiduos in domum coetus arcendo infringeret potentiam aut receptando facultatem criminantibus praeberet, huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad uitam procul Roma amoenis locis degendam impelleret. multa quippe prouidebat: sua in manu aditus litterarumque magna ex parte se arbitrum fore, cum per milites commearent; mox Caesarem uergente iam senecta secretoque loci mollitum munia imperii facilius tramissurum: et minui sibi inuidiam adempta salutantium turba, sublatisque inanibus ueram potentiam augeri. igitur paulatim negotia urbis, populi adcursus, multitudinem adfluentium increpat, extollens laudibus quietem et solitudinem, quis abesse taedia et offensiones ac praecipua rerum maxime agitari.

42. Ac forte habita per illos dies de Votieno Montano, celebris ingenii uiro, cognitio cunctantem iam Tiberium perpulit ut uitandos crederet patrum coetus uocesque, quae plerumque uerae et graues coram ingerebantur. nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas, testis Aemilius e militaribus uiris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quamquam inter obstrepentes magna adseueratione nititur, audiuit Tiberius probra, quis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque perculsus est ut se uel statim uel in cognitione purgaturum clamitaret precibusque proximorum, adulatione omnium aegre componeret animum. et Votienus quidem maiestatis poenis adfectus est: Caesar obiectam sibi aduersus reos inclementiam eo peruicacius amplexus, Aquiliam adulterii delatam cum Vario Ligure, quamquam

Lentulus Gaetulicus consul designatus lege Iulia damnasset, exilio puniuit Apidiumque Merulam, quod in acta diui Augusti non iurauerat, albo senatorio erasit.

43. Auditae dehinc Lacedaemoniorum et Messeniorum legationes de iure templi Dianae Limnatidis, quod suis a maioribus suaque in terra dicatum Lacedaemonii firmabant annalium memoria uatumque carminibus, sed Macedonis Philippi, cum quo bellassent, armis ademptum ac post C. Caesaris et M. Antonii sententia redditum. contra Messenii ueterem inter Herculis posteros diuisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Denthaliatem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse; monimentaque eius rei sculpta saxis et aere prisco manere. quod si uatum aut annalium ad testimonia uocentur, plures sibi ac locupletiores esse; neque Philippum potentia, sed ex uero statuisse: idem regis Antigoni, idem imperatoris Mummii iudicium; sic Milesios permisso publice arbitrio, postremo Atidium Geminum praetorem Achaiae decreuisse. ita secundum Messenios datum. et Segestani aedem Veneris montem apud Erycum, uetustate dilapsam, restaurari postulauere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio. suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus. tunc tractatae Massiliensium preces probatumque P. Rutilii exemplum; namque eum legibus pulsum ciuem sibi Zmyrnaei addiderant. quo iure Vulcatius Moschus exul in Massilienses receptus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.

44. Obiere eo anno uiri nobiles Cn. Lentulus et

L. Domitius. Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et modeste habitae. Domitium decorauit pater ciuili bello maris potens, donec Antonii partibus, mox Caesaris misceretur. auus Pharsalica acie pro optimatibus ceciderat. ipse delectus, cui minor Antonia, Octauia genita, in matrimonium daretur, post exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum, easque ob res insignia triumphi adeptus est. obiit et L. Antonius, multa claritudine generis, sed inprospera. nam patre eius Iulo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito hunc admodum adulescentulum, sororis nepotem, seposuit Augustus in ciuitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur. habitus tamen supremis honor, ossaque tumulo Octauiorum inlata per decretum senatus.

45. Isdem consulibus facinus atrox in citeriore Hispania admissum a quodam agresti nationis Termestinae. is praetorem prouinciae L. Pisonem, pace incuriosum, ex inprouiso in itinere adortus uno uulnere in mortem adfecit; ac pernicitate equi profugus, postquam saltuosos locos attigerat, dimisso equo per derupta et auia sequentes frustratus est. neque diu fefellit; nam, prenso ductoque per proximos pagos equo, cuius foret cognitum. et repertus cum tormentis edere conscios adigeretur, uoce magna sermone patrio frustra se interrogari clamitauit: adsisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam uim tantam doloris fore ut ueritatem eliceret. idemque cum

postero ad quaestionem retraheretur, eo nisu proripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adflixit ut statim exanimaretur. sed Piso Termestinorum dolo caesus habetur; quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebat.

Chapters 46—61: Events of 26 A.D.

46. Lentulo Gaetulico C. Caluisio consulibus decreta triumphi insignia Poppaeo Sabino contusis Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis incultu atque eo ferocius agitabant. causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et ualidissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut, si mitterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi aduersum accolas belligerare. ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diuersas in terras traherentur. sed, antequam arma inciperent, misere legatos amicitiam obsequiumque memoraturos, et mansura haec si nullo nouo onere temptarentur; sin ut uictis seruitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuuentutem et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum. simul castella rupibus indita conlatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bellumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur.

47. At Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conduceret, datis mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia cum legione, rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium, qui fidem non mutauerant, uenere, addita praesenti copia ad hostem pergit,

compositum iam per angustias saltuum. quidam audentius apertis in collibus uisebantur, quos dux Romanus acie suggressus haud aegre pepulit, sanguine barbarorum modico ob propinqua suffugia. mox castris in loco communitis ualida manu montem occupat, angustum et aequali dorso continuum usque ad proximum castellum, quod magna uis armata aut incondita tuebatur. simul in ferocissimos, qui ante uallum more gentis cum carminibus et tripudiis persultabant, mittit delectos sagittariorum. ii, dum eminus grassabantur, crebra et inulta uulnera fecere; propius incedentes eruptione subita turbati sunt receptique subsidio Sugambrae cohortis, quam Romanus promptam ad pericula nec minus cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem haud procul instruxerat.

48. Translata dehinc castra hostem propter, relictis apud priora munimenta Thraecibus, quos nobis adfuisse memoraui. iisque permissum uastare, urere, trahere praedas, dum populatio lucem intra sisteretur noctemque in castris tutam et uigilem capesserent. id primo seruatum; mox uersi in luxum et raptis opulenti omittere stationes, lasciuia epularum aut somno et uino procumbere. igitur hostes, incuria eorum comperta, duo agmina parant, quorum altero populatores inuaderentur, alii castra Romana adpugnarent, non spe capiendi, sed ut clamore, telis suo quisque periculo intentus sonorem alterius proelii non acciperet. tenebrae insuper delectae augendam ad formidinem. sed qui uallum legionum temptabant, facile pelluntur; Thraecum auxilia repentino incursu territa, cum pars munitionibus adiacerent, plures

extra palarentur, tanto infensius caesi, quanto perfugae et proditores ferre arma ad suum patriaeque seruitium incusabantur.

49. Postera die Sabinus exercitum aequo loco ostendit, si barbari successu noctis alacres proelium auderent. et postquam castello aut coniunctis tumulis non degrediebantur, obsidium coepit per praesidia quae opportune iam muniebat; dein fossam loricamque contexens quattuor milia passuum ambitu amplexus est; tum paulatim, ut aquam pabulumque eriperet, contrahere claustra artaque circumdare; et struebatur agger, unde saxa hastae ignes propinquum iam in hostem iacerentur. sed nihil aeque quam sitis fatigabat, cum ingens multitudo bellatorum inbellium uno reliquo fonte uterentur; simul equi armenta, ut mos barbaris, iuxta clausa, egestate pabuli exanimari; adiacere corpora hominum, quos uulnera, quos sitis peremerat; pollui cuncta sanie, odore, contactu.

50. Rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia accessit, his deditionem, aliis mortem et mutuos inter se ictus parantibus; et erant qui non inultum exitium, sed eruptionem suaderent. neque ignobiles tantum his diuersi sententiis, uerum e ducibus Dinis, prouectus senecta et longo usu uim atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, ponenda arma, unum adflictis id remedium disserebat, primusque se cum coniuge et liberis uictori permisit. secuti aetate aut sexu inbecilli et quibus maior uitae quam gloriae cupido. at iuuentus Tarsam inter et Turesim distrahebatur. utrique destinatum cum libertate

occidere, sed Tarsa properum finem, abrumpendas pariter spes ac metus clamitans, dedit exemplum demisso in pectus ferro; nec defuere qui eodem modo oppeterent. Turesis sua cum manu noctem opperitur, haud nescio duce nostro; igitur firmatae stationes densioribus globis. et ingruebat nox nimbo atrox, hostisque clamore turbido, modo per uastum silentium, incertos obsessores effecerat, cum Sabinus circumire, hortari ne ad ambigua sonitus aut simulationem quietis casum insidiantibus aperirent, sed sua quisque munia seruarent immoti telisque non in falsum iactis.

51. Interea barbari cateruis decurrentes nunc in uallum manualia saxa, praeustas sudes, decisa robora iacere, nunc uirgultis et cratibus et corporibus exanimis complere fossas, quidam pontes et scalas ante fabricati inferre propugnaculis eaque prensare, detrahere et aduersum resistentes comminus niti. miles contra deturbare telis, pellere umbonibus, muralia pila, congestas lapidum moles prouoluere. his partae uictoriae spes et, si cedant, insignitius flagitium, illis extrema iam salus et adsistentes plerisque matres et coniuges earumque lamenta addunt animos. nox aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem opportuna; incerti ictus, uulnera inprouisa; suorum atque hostium ignoratio et montis anfractu repercussae uelut a tergo uoces adeo cuncta miscuerant ut quaedam munimenta Romani quasi perrupta omiserint. neque tamen peruasere hostes nisi admodum pauci. ceteros, deiecto promptissimo quoque aut saucio, adpetente iam luce trusere in summa

castelli, ubi tandem coacta deditio. et proxima sponte incolarum recepta: reliquis, quo minus ui aut obsidio subigerentur, praematura montis Haemi et saeua hiemps subuenit.

52. At Romae, commota principis domo, ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina eius postulatur, accusante Domitio Afro. is recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere, crimen inpudicitiae, adulterum Furnium, ueneficia in principem et deuotiones obiectabat. Agrippina semper atrox, tum et periculo propinquae accensa, pergit ad Tiberium ac forte sacrificantem patri repperit. quo initio inuidiae non eiusdem ait mactare diuo Augusto uictimas et posteros eius insectari. non in effigies mutas diuinum spiritum transfusum; se imaginem ueram, caelesti sanguine ortam, intellegere discrimen, suscipere sordes. frustra Pulchram praescribi, cui sola exitii causa sit, quod Agrippinam stulte prorsus ad cultum delegerit, oblita Sosiae ob eadem adflictae. audita haec raram occulti pectoris uocem elicuere, correptamque Graeco uersu admonuit non ideo laedi, quia non regnaret. Pulchra et Furnius damnantur. Afer primoribus oratorum additus, diuulgato ingenio et secuta adseueratione Caesaris, qua suo iure disertum eum appellauit. mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tutando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii inpatientiam.

53. At Agrippina peruicax irae et morbo corporis

inplicata, cum uiseret eam Caesar, profusis diu ac per silentium lacrimis, mox inuidiam et preces orditur: subueniret solitudini, daret maritum; habilem adhuc iuuentam sibi neque aliud probis quam ex matrimonio solacium; esse in ciuitate qui diui Augusti neptem, Germanici coniugem ac liberos eius recipere dignarentur. sed Caesar non ignarus quantum ex re publica peteretur, ne tamen offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine responso quamquam instantem reliquit. id ego, a scriptoribus annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater uitam suam et casus suorum posteris memorauit.

54. Ceterum Seianus maerentem et inprouidam altius perculit, immissis qui per speciem amicitiae monerent paratum ei uenenum, uitandas soceri epulas. atque illa simulationum nescia, cum propter discumberet, non uultu aut sermone flecti, nullos attingere cibos, donec aduertit Tiberius, forte an quia audiuerat; idque quo acrius experiretur, poma, ut erant adposita, laudans nurui sua manu tradidit. aucta ex eo suspicio Agrippinae, et intacta ore seruis tramisit. nec tamen Tiberii uox coram secuta, sed obuersus ad matrem non mirum ait, si quid seuerius in eam statuisset, a qua ueneficii insimularetur. inde rumor parari exitium, neque id imperatorem palam audere, secretum ad perpetrandum quaeri.

55. Sed Caesar, quo famam auerteret, adesse frequens senatui legatosque Asiae, ambigentes quanam in ciuitate templum statueretur, plures per dies audiuit. undecim urbes certabant, pari ambitione,

uiribus diuersae. neque multum distantia inter se memorabant de uetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum. uerum Hypaepeni Trallianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi ut parum ualidi; ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis Romae Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria pollebant. paulum addubitatum, quod Halicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo motu terrae nutauisse sedes suas uiuoque in saxo fundamenta templi adseuerauerant. Pergamenos (eo ipso nitebantur) aede Augusto ibi sita satis adeptos creditum. Ephesii Milesiique, hi Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupauisse ciuitates uisi. ita Sardianos inter Zmyrnaeosque deliberatum. Sardiani decretum Etruriae recitauere ut consanguinei; nam Tyrrhenum Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem diuisisse gentem; Lydum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrrheno datum nouas ut conderet sedes; et ducum e nominibus indita uocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia; auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen. simul litteras imperatorum et icta nobiscum foedera bello Macedonum ubertatemque fluminum suorum, temperiem caeli ac dites circum terras memorabant.

56. At Zmyrnaei repetita uetustate, seu Tantalus Ioue ortus illos, siue Theseus diuina et ipse stirpe, siue una Amazonum condidisset, transcendere ad ea quis maxime fidebant, in populum Romanum officiis, missa nauali copia non modo externa ad bella, sed quae in Italia tolerabantur; seque primos templum

urbis Romae statuisse, M. Porcio consule, magnis quidem iam populi Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punica urbe et ualidis per Asiam regibus. simul L. Sullam testem adferebant, grauissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam uestis, cum id Zmyrnam in contionem nuntiatum foret, omnes qui adstabant detraxisse corpori tegmina nostrisque legionibus misisse. ita rogati sententiam patres Zmyrnaeos praetulere. censuitque Vibius Marsus, ut M'. Lepido, cui ea prouincia obuenerat, super numerum legaretur qui templi curam susciperet. et quia Lepidus ipse deligere per modestiam abnuebat, Valerius Naso e praetoriis sorte missus est.

57. Inter quae, diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio, tandem Caesar in Campaniam, specie dedicandi templa apud Capuam Ioui, apud Nolam Augusto, sed certus procul urbe degere. causam abscessus quamquam secutus plurimos auctorum ad Seiani artes rettuli, quia tamen caede eius patrata sex postea annos pari secreto coniunxit, plerumque permoueor, num ad ipsum referri uerius sit, saeuitiam ac libidinem cum factis promeret, locis occultantem. erant qui crederent in senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse; quippe illi praegracilis et incurua proceritas, nudus capillo uertex, ulcerosa facies ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta; et Rhodi secreto uitare coetus, recondere uoluptates insuerat. traditur etiam matris inpotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum

eius accepisset. nam dubitauerat Augustus Germanicum, sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae imponere; sed precibus uxoris euictus Tiberio Germanicum, sibi Tiberium adsciuit. idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcebat.

58. Profectio arto comitatu fuit: unus senator consulatu functus, Cocceius Nerua, cui legum peritia, eques Romanus praeter Seianum ex inlustribus Curtius Atticus, ceteri liberalibus studiis praediti, ferme Graeci, quorum sermonibus leuaretur. ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma Tiberium, ut reditus illi negaretur. unde exitii causa multis fuit properum finem uitae coniectantibus uulgantibusque; neque enim tam incredibilem casum prouidebant, ut undecim per annos libens patria careret. mox patuit breue confinium artis et falsi, ueraque quam obscuris tegerentur. nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum nescii egere, cum propinquo rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis adsidens extremam senectam compleuerit.

59. Ac forte illis diebus oblatum Caesari anceps periculum auxit uana rumoris praebuitque ipsi materiem cur amicitiae constantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. uescebantur in uilla cui uocabulum Speluncae, mare Amunclanum inter et Fundanos montes, natiuo in specu. eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros; hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum qui conuiuium celebrabant. Seianus genu uultuque et manibus super Caesarem suspensus opposuit sese incidentibus, atque habitu tali repertus

est a militibus qui subsidio uenerant. maior ex eo, et quamquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur. adsimulabatque iudicis partes aduersum Germanici stirpem, subditis qui accusatorum nomina sustinerent maximeque insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta iuuenta, plerumque tamen quid in praesentia conduceret oblitum, dum a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, exstimulatur ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet: uelle id populum Romanum, cupere exercitus, neque ausurum contra Seianum, qui nunc patientiam senis et segnitiam iuuenis iuxta insultet.

60. Haec atque talia audienti nihil quidem prauae cogitationis, sed interdum uoces procedebant contumaces et inconsultae, quas adpositi custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent neque Neroni defendere daretur, diuersae insuper sollicitudinum formae oriebantur. nam alius occursum eius uitare, quidam salutatione reddita statim auerti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insistentibus contra inridentibusque qui Seiano fautores aderant. enimuero Tiberius toruus aut falsum renidens uultu: seu loqueretur seu taceret iuuenis, crimen ex silentio, ex uoce. ne nox quidem secura, cum uxor uigilias somnos suspiria matri Liuiae, atque illa Seiano patefaceret; qui fratrem quoque Neronis Drusum traxit in partes, spe obiecta principis loci, si priorem aetate et iam labefactum demouisset. atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratribus odia accendebatur inuidia, quod mater Agrippina

promptior Neroni erat. neque tamen Seianus ita Drusum fouebat ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur, gnarus praeferocem et insidiis magis opportunum.

61. Fine anni excessere insignes uiri Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam uetustis uitaque non degener, et Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae quoad uixit celebratae: monimenta ingeni eius haud perinde retinentur. scilicet impetu magis quam cura uigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum ualescit, sic Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est.

Chapters 62—67: Events of 27 A.D.

62. M. Licinio L. Calpurnio consulibus ingentium bellorum cladem aequauit malum inprouisum; eius initium simul et finis exstitit. nam coepto apud Fidenam amphitheatro Atilius quidam libertini generis, quo spectaculum gladiatorum celebraret, neque fundamenta per solidum subdidit, neque firmis nexibus ligneam compagem superstruxit, ut qui non abundantia pecuniae nec municipali ambitione, sed in sordidam mercedem id negotium quaesiuisset. adfluxere auidi talium, imperitante Tiberio procul uoluptatibus habiti, uirile ac muliebre secus, omnis aetas, ob propinquitatem loci effusius; unde grauior pestis fuit, conferta mole, dein conuulsa, dum ruit intus aut in exteriora effunditur inmensamque uim mortalium, spectaculo intentos aut qui circum adstabant, praeceps trahit atque operit. et illi quidem, quos principium stragis in mortem adflixerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum effugere; miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis nondum uita deseruerat; qui per diem uisu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. iam ceteri fama exciti, hic fratrem, propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. etiam quorum diuersa de

causa amici aut necessarii aberant, pauere tamen; nequedum comperto, quos illa uis perculisset, latior ex incerto metus.

63. Vt coepere dimoueri obruta, concursus ad exanimos complectentium, osculantium; et saepe certamen, si confusior facies, sed par forma aut aetas errorem adgnoscentibus fecerat. quinquaginta hominum milia eo casu debilitata uel obtrita sunt; cautumque in posterum senatus consulto, ne quis gladiatorium munus ederet, cui minor quadringentorum milium res, neue amphitheatrum imponeretur nisi solo firmitatis spectatae. Atilius in exilium actus est. ceterum sub recentem cladem patuere procerum domus, fomenta et medici passim praebiti, fuitque urbs per illos dies quamquam maesta facie ueterum institutis similis, qui magna post proelia saucios largitione et cura sustentabant.

64. Nondum ea clades exoleuerat, cum ignis uiolentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto monte Caelio; feralemque annum ferebant et ominibus aduersis susceptum principi consilium absentiae, qui mos uulgo, fortuita ad culpam trahentes, ni Caesar obuiam isset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti. actaeque ei grates apud senatum ab inlustribus famaque apud populum, quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia iuuerat. adduntur sententiae, ut mons Caelius in posterum Augustus appellaretur, quando cunctis circum flagrantibus sola Tiberii effigies, sita in domo Iunii senatoris, inuiolata mansisset. euenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae, eiusque statuam uim

ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem matris deum consecrauisse. sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios et augendam caerimoniam loco, in quo tantum in principem honorem di ostenderint.

65. Haud fuerit absurdum tradere montem eum antiquitus Querquetulanum cognomento fuisse, quod talis siluae frequens fecundusque erat, mox Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium portauisset, sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit; nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt. cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana etiam ac foro propinqua habitauisse, unde Tuscum uicum e uocabulo aduenarum dictum.

66. Sed ut studia procerum et largitio principis aduersum casus solacium tulerant, ita accusatorum maior in dies et infestior uis sine leuamento grassabatur; corripueratque Varum Quintilium, diuitem et Caesari propinquum, Domitius Afer, Claudiae Pulchrae matris eius condemnator, nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationis extitisse miraculo erat, quia claris maioribus et Varo conexus suam ipse nobilitatem, suum sanguinem perditum ibat. restitit tamen senatus et opperiendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urguentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat.

67. At Caesar, dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quamquam edicto monuisset, ne quis quietem eius inrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito

milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promunturii diiunctam. solitudinem eius placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam inportuosum circa mare et uix modicis nauigiis pauca subsidia; neque adpulerit quisquam nisi gnaro custode. caeli temperies hieme mitis obiectu montis, quo saeua uentorum arcentur; aestas in Fauonium obuersa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuuius mons ardescens faciem loci uerteret. Graecos ea tenuisse Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. sed tum Tiberius duodecim uillarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultiores in luxus et malum otium resolutus. manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas, quam Seianus augere etiam in urbe suetus acrius turbabat non iam occultis aduersum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis. quis additus miles nuntios, introitus, aperta secreta uelut in annales referebat, ultroque struebantur qui monerent perfugere ad Germaniae exercitus uel celeberrimo fori effigiem diui Augusti amplecti populumque ac senatum auxilio uocare. eaque spreta ab illis, uelut pararent, obiciebantur.

Chapters 68—75: Events of 28 A.D.

68. Iunio Silano et Silio Nerua consulibus foedum anni principium incessit tracto in carcerem inlustri equite Romano, Tito Sabino, ob amicitiam Germanici; neque enim omiserat coniugem liberosque eius percolere, sectator domi, comes in publico, post tot clientes unus eoque apud bonos laudatus et grauis iniquis. hunc Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Opsius praetura functi adgrediuntur, cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Seianum aditus; neque Seiani uoluntas nisi scelere quaerebatur. compositum inter ipsos ut Latiaris, qui modico usu Sabinum contingebat, strueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent, deinde accusationem inciperent. igitur Latiaris iacere fortuitos primum sermones, mox laudare constantiam, quod non, ut ceteri, florentis domus amicus adflictam deseruisset; simul honora de Germanico, Agrippinam miserans, disserebat. et postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas, iunxit questus, audentius iam onerat Seianum, saeuitiam, superbiam, spes eius. ne in Tiberium quidem conuicio abstinet; iique sermones, tamquam uetita miscuissent, speciem

artae amicitiae fecere. ac iam ultro Sabinus quaerere Latiarem, uentitare domum, dolores suos quasi ad fidissimum deferre.

69. Consultant quos memoraui, quonam modo ea plurium auditu acciperentur. nam loco, in quem coibatur, seruanda solitudinis facies; et si pone fores adsisterent, metus uisus, sonitus aut forte ortae suspicionis erat. tectum inter et laquearia tres senatores, haud minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude, sese abstrudunt, foraminibus et rimis aurem admouent. interea Latiaris repertum in publico Sabinum, uelut recens cognita narraturus, domum et in cubiculum trahit; praeteritaque et instantia, quorum adfatim copia, ac nouos terrores cumulat. eadem ille et diutius, quanto maesta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius reticentur. properata inde accusatio, missisque ad Caesarem litteris ordinem fraudis suumque ipsi dedecus narrauere. non alias magis anxia et pauens ciuitas, tegens aduersum proximos; congressus, conloquia, notae ignotaeque aures uitari etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.

70. Sed Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianuariis epistula precatus, uertit in Sabinum, corruptos quosdam libertorum et petitum se arguens, ultionemque haud obscure poscebat. nec mora quin decerneretur; et trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta ueste et adstrictis faucibus niti poterat, clamitans sic incohari annum, has Seiano uictimas cadere. quo intendisset oculos, quo uerba acciderent, fuga uastitas, deseri itinera, fora. et quidam

regrediebantur ostentabantque se rursum, id ipsum pauentes, quod timuissent. quem enim diem uacuum poena, ubi inter sacra et uota, quo tempore uerbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset, uincla et laqueus inducantur? non inprudentem Tiberium tantam inuidiam adisse, sed quaesitum meditatumque ne quid impedire credatur quo minus noui magistratus, quo modo delubra et altaria, sic carcerem recludant. secutae insuper litterae grates agentis quod hominem infensum rei publicae puniuissent, adiecto trepidam sibi uitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias, nullo nominatim compellato; neque tamen dubitabatur in Neronem et Agrippinam intendi.

71. Ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre, auebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus quos Latinus atque Opsius ceterique flagitii eius repertores habuere, non modo postquam Gaius Caesar rerum potitus est, sed incolumi Tiberio, qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus et oblatis in eandem operam recentibus ueteres et praegraues adflixit; uerum has atque alias sontium poenas in tempore trademus. tum censuit Asinius Gallus, cuius liberorum Agrippina matertera erat, petendum a principe, ut metus suos senatui fateretur amouerique sineret. nullam aeque Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex uirtutibus suis quam dissimulationem diligebat; eo aegrius accepit recludi quae premeret. sed mitigauit Seianus, non Galli amore, uerum ut cunctationes principis opperiretur, gnarus lentum in meditando, ubi prorupisset, tristibus dictis atrocia facta coniungere.

Per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit, quam neptem Augustus conuictam adulterii damnauerat, proieceratque in insulam Trimerum, haud procul Apulis litoribus. illic uiginti annis exilium tolerauit Augustae ope sustentata, quae florentes priuignos cum per occultum subuertisset, misericordiam erga adflictos palam ostentabat.

72. Eodem anno Frisii, transrhenanus populus, pacem exuere, nostra magis auaritia quam obsequii inpatientes. tributum iis Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares coria boum penderent, non intenta cuiusquam cura, quae firmitudo, quae mensura, donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiis inpositus terga urorum delegit quorum ad formam acciperentur. id, aliis quoque nationibus arduum, apud Germanos difficilius tolerabatur, quis ingentium beluarum feraces saltus, modica domi armenta sunt. ac primo boues ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum aut liberorum seruitio tradebant. hinc ira et questus, et, postquam non subueniebatur, remedium ex bello. rapti qui tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi. Olennius infensos fuga praeuenit, receptus castello cui nomen Fleuum; et haud spernenda illic ciuium sociorumque manus litora Oceani praesidebat.

73. Quod ubi L. Apronio inferioris Germaniae pro praetore cognitum, uexilla legionum e superiore prouincia peditumque et equitum auxiliarium delectos acciuit ac simul utrumque exercitum Rheno deuectum Frisiis intulit, soluto iam castelli obsidio et ad sua tutanda degressis rebellibus. igitur proxima

aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus traducendo grauiori agmini firmat. atque interim, repertis uadis, alam Canninefatem et quod peditum Germanorum inter nostros merebat circumgredi terga hostium iubet; qui iam acie compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque legionum subsidio missos. tum tres leues cohortes ac rursum duae, dein tempore interiecto alarius eques inmissus,—satis ualidi si simul incubuissent, per interuallum aduentantes neque constantiam addiderant turbatis et pauore fugientium auferebantur. Cethego Labeoni legato quintae legionis quod reliquum auxiliorum tradit. atque ille dubia suorum re in anceps tractus missis nuntiis uim legionum inplorabat. prorumpunt quintani ante alios et, acri pugna hoste pulso, recipiunt cohortes alasque fessas uulneribus. neque dux Romanus ultum iit aut corpora humauit, quamquam multi tribunorum praefectorumque et insignes centuriones cecidissent. mox compertum a transfugis nongentos Romanorum apud lucum, quem Baduhennae uocant, pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadringentorum manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiarii uilla, postquam proditio metuebatur, mutuis ictibus procubuisse.

74. Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret. neque senatus in eo cura an imperii extrema dehonestarentur. pauor internus occupauerat animos, cui remedium adulatione quaerebatur. ita, quamquam diuersis super rebus consulerentur, aram Clementiae, aram Amicitiae effigiesque circum Caesaris

ac Seiani censuere, crebrisque precibus efflagitabant uisendi sui copiam facerent. non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi degressi sunt; satis uisum omittere insulam et in proximo Campaniae aspici. eo uenire patres, eques, magna pars plebis, anxii erga Seianum, cuius durior congressus atque eo per ambitum et societate consiliorum parabatur. satis constabat auctam ei adrogantiam foedum illud in propatulo seruitium spectanti; quippe Romae sueti discursus et magnitudine urbis incertum quod quisque ad negotium pergat: ibi campo aut litore iacentes nullo discrimine noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur, donec id quoque uetitum; et reuenere in urbem trepidi, quos non sermone, non uisu dignatus erat, quidam male alacres, quibus infaustae amicitiae grauis exitus imminebat.

75. Ceterum Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam cum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset, in urbe celebrari nuptias iussit. in Domitio super uetustatem generis propinquum Caesaribus sanguinem delegerat; nam is auiam Octauiam et per eam Augustum auunculum praeferebat.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

N. = *Nipperdey's Edition.* F. = *Furneaux's Edition.*
P.F. = *P. Frost's Edition.* R. = *Ramsay's Translation.*
C. and B. = *Church and Brodribb's Translation.*
Roby = *Roby's Latin Syntax.*

1

1. **consulibus.** The full names of these consuls were Gaius Asinius Pollio and Gaius Antistius Vetus.

nonus. He began the ninth year of his reign in the previous August.

Tiberio, dat. of person. Cf. vi 45 *supremi Tiberio consules.*

2. **compositae rei publicae**, 'of a tranquil commonwealth.' See note on line 18.

3. **Germanici.** See Introduction iv.

inter prospera ducebat, 'he counted among his blessings.'

4. **turbare**, absolute,—'run riot.' Cf. iii 47 *si una alteraue ciuitas turbet*; Cic. *ad Att.* xiii 26 *metuo ne turbem et irruam in Drusum*; *ad fam.* viii 8 *M. Seruilius omnibus in rebus turbarat.*

saeuire, 'to be cruel,' as often in Tacitus.

5. **causa penes Seianum.** Cf. c. 16.

6. **Aelium.** This name shows that he had been adopted by one of the Aelian gens.

cohortibus praetoriis praefectum, lit. 'set over the praetorian guard.' Cf. *praefectus urbi*, the original title of the Prefect of the City.

7. **potentia**, undue influence; sometimes real power (c. 4, 41).

supra memoraui. N. refers to i 24, 69, iii 29, 35, 72.

8. **quo facinore**, i.e. the murder of Drusus.

raptum ierit, 'set out to seize.' Cf. c. 66 *perditum ire*, c. 73 *ultum ire*. Notice also the frequent Silver Age use of the perf. subj. as an aorist.

9. **Vulsiniis.** The modern name of Vulsinii is Bolsena. Juvenal calls Sejanus *Tuscus* in x 74.

Seio Strabone equite Romano. Ramsay has a useful note:—'Velleius calls Sejanus *princeps equestris ordinis* (ii 127), and ascribes to him consular brothers, cousins, and uncles. Thus Sejanus was by no means the upstart that Tacitus would make him out to be. His position was not unlike that of Maecenas, very different from that of freedmen favourites of later emperors.'

10. **Gaium Caesarem**, adopted in 17 B.C., when he was two years old.

11. **diui Augusti**, often overdone in translation. 'The Emperor Augustus' is sufficient.

sectatus, 'having attached himself to.'

mox, 'subsequently,' its usual meaning.

12. **obscurum aduersum alios**, 'reserved towards others.'

14. **isdem artibus**, i.e. *sollertia* 'cunning.' 'Sejanus, however wily, was at last no match for the superior wiliness of Tiberius. He was hoist with his own petard' [P.F.].

15. **cuius...uiguit ceciditque**, 'on which he brought disaster alike in his power and in his fall.'

pari exitio, sociative,—lit. 'with equal ruin to which....' Cf. c. 30 *publico exitio repertum*.

16. **laborum tolerans...sui obtegens.** Many present participles take the genitive, especially in Tacitus. In this passage he is evidently thinking of Sallust *Catiline* 5 *corpus patiens inediae uigiliae algoris, supra quam cuiquam credibile est; animus audax....*

17. **iuxta**, 'side by side.'

18. **compositus**, either (1) 'quiet' (as in line 2); or (2) 'assumed,' the common Tacitean meaning of the word. Perhaps N. is right in thinking that the sense of artificiality is sufficiently given by the contrast between *palam* and *intus*.

19. **summa apiscendi libido.** *summa* must be neut. plur ,—'the highest position.' Cf. *parando regno* (below); also xi 26 *summa adeptus.*

2

1. **praefecturae**, 'the praetorian command.'

intendit, lit. 'stretch tight,' i.e. 'increase,' 'enhance,'—very favourite word with Tacitus in this sense.

2. **dispersas.** N. quotes Suetonius *Augustus* 49 *neque tamen umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe passus est easque sine castris; reliquas in hiberna et aestiua circa finitima oppida dimittere assuerat.*

una castra, between the Porta Collina and Viminalis, outside the Agger of Servius.

3. **numeroque...oreretur.** The sense is well brought out by R.,—'while the sight of their own strength and numbers would give confidence to the soldiers, and overawe the rest of the citizens.'

6. **si quid subitum...pariter subueniri**, 'if any emergency befell, greater support was given by joint action.' For this use of *pariter* cf. i. 32 *pariter ardescerent pariter silerent*, 'as one man.'

7. **seuerius acturos**, 'they would live stricter lives.'

uallum, i.e. the praetorian camp.

procul must not be pressed; it frequently denotes 'at some distance.' The camp was just outside the walls. And, as F. says, to live in camp at all was a separation.

8. **inrepere**, 'began to insinuate himself.'

9. **adeundo, appellando**, 'by mixing with them and calling them by name.' The modal use of the abl. gerund is very frequent in Tacitus; also in Livy. It is often best translated by the English pres. partic. Cf. *conducendo* (line 2).

10. **centuriones ac tribunos**, previously appointed by the Emperor himself.

neque senatorio ambitu...ornandi, 'nor did he refrain from courting senators in the way of securing for his creatures public distinctions or provincial offices.' Sejanus wished to make it felt

that he was the fountain of honour. For *ornandi*, gen. of definition, cf. iii 63 *cultus uenerandi* 'worship consisting in honouring.'

12. **facili...prono**, 'compliant and indulgent.'

13. **socium laborum.** Dio Cassius says that Tiberius called Sejanus 'sharer in his thoughts' and 'my Sejanus.'

apud patres et populum, explained by c. 40 *uel in senatu uel in contione.*

15. **fora**, 'public squares.'

inter principia legionum, 'at the head-quarters of the legions.' Cf. i 61 *castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum.* For the sanctity of the *principia* cf. i 39 *signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur*, and *Hist.* iii 10 *conuersus ad signa et bellorum deos.*

3

1. **ceterum**, 'however,' often after a digression, like the Greek *δ' οὖν.*

plena Caesarum domus, i.e. there was no lack of heirs in the Caesarean house. There was Drusus the son of Tiberius (*iuuenis filius*), and the sons of Germanicus (adopted son of Tiberius), Nero, Drusus, Caligula (*nepotes adulti*), and Tiberius and Germanicus, sons of Drusus (the son of Tiberius), ii 84; vi 46 [P.F.].

6. **inpatiens aemuli**, 'not brooking a rival.'

animo commotior, 'more hot-tempered.' Cf. vi. 45 *commotus ingenio.*

7. **intenderat**, 'had raised his hand against Sejanus,'—another frequent use of this verb in Tacitus. The meaning of the rest of the sentence is: 'when Sejanus resisted Drusus had struck him in the face.'

9. **promptissimum**, 'the most practicable course.' Cf. Cic. *Or.* i 237 *facilis et prompta defensio.*

uxorem eius Liuiam, often called Livilla.

13. **primi flagitii potitus est**, 'he succeeded in the first shameful act.'

neque...alia abnuerit, 'can refuse nothing else.' For this

construction cf. c. 5, 6, 10, 11. The aoristic perf. subj. is used very frequently in modest assertions and in negations of possibility [F.]. See Roby 1540.

15. **regnum**, sometimes loosely used by Tacitus for *imperium* or *principatus*.

cui auunculus Augustus. She was really great-niece of Augustus.

17. **municipali adultero**, abl. instr. *municipalis* 'from a petty town,' 'provincial' (not in the Roman sense), i.e. from Vulsinii.

18. **ut pro honestis...exspectaret**, 'preferring a guilty and uncertain future to a safe and honourable present.'

19. **sumitur in conscientiam**, 'is taken into their guilty secret.' Cf. xiii 12 *assumptis in conscientiam.*

20. **specie artis**, 'under guise of his profession.' Note the various meanings of *ars* and *artes* in Tacitus.

frequens secretis, 'often present at their private interviews.' Cf. *Hist.* iv 69 *frequens contionibus*, and Cic. *Rosc.* 16 *erat ille Romae frequens.*

23. **diuersa consilia**, 'conflicting plans.'

4

2. **quae**, i.e. the honours which.... N. quotes the following inscription: *Druso Caesari, Germanici Caesaris filio, Ti. Augusti nepoti, diui Augusti pronepoti, pontifici d. d.*

3. **repetita**, 'revived.' Cf. *refertur* (line 9).

addidit orationem Caesar. 'Caesar added a speech' would be a stiff rendering. Say rather, 'the Emperor threw in some remarks of his own.'

4. **patria beneuolentia**, abl. of description.

6. **quamquam sit**, the ordinary construction in Silver Latin.

eodem, locatival abl. **loci**, partitive gen. Cf. Cic. *ad Att.* i 13 *res eodem est loci.* For *potentiam* 'real power' cf. c. 41.

7. **aequus adulescentibus**, dat. of person concerned, —'kindly towards the boys.'

10. **multitudinem...sumant**, 'he gave as his reasons the large number of time-expired veterans, and the necessity of filling

the vacancies by fresh levies. Volunteers, he said, were not sufficiently numerous, and any who came forward were not of the same quality and readiness to obey, being generally men without money or settled home.'

11. **dilectibus**, i.e. among provincials who were Roman citizens.

uoluntarium. Voluntary enlistment was generally sufficient, especially as the area of Roman citizenship was being continually extended.

17. **quanto sit angustius imperitatum**, 'how much narrower than now were the bounds of the empire.' Tacitus is complimenting Trajan, who by his campaigns from 114 A.D. had enlarged the boundaries of the Roman empire. He made Dacia a Roman province; and in the East pushed forward the limits of the empire to the Mare Rubrum [P.F.].

5

1. **utroque mari**, i.e. *mare superum* and *inferum*.

2. **Misenum apud et Rauennam.** For the position of the prep. called *anastrophe*, cf. c. 5. These two fleets were called *classis praetoria Misenensis* and *Rauennas* or *Rauennatium*.

proximum litus praesidebant. For the syntax, cf. c. 72 and iii 39 *proximum exercitum praesidebat.*

3. **Actiaca uictoria**, 31 B.C.

4. **oppidum Foroiuliense**, the modern Fréjus. Cf. ii 63 *Forum Iulium, Narbonensis Galliae coloniam.*

5. **ualido cum remige**, a Virgilian touch, as so often in Tacitus. Cf. *Aen.* v 116 *agit acri remige.*

sed praecipuum robur. 'The army under the empire was a standing one (στρατιῶται ἀθάνατοι) quartered in fixed districts and provinces, each legion or group of legions having definite garrison or police duties to perform.' (*Camb. Companion to Latin Studies*, § 721).

7. **Hispaniae.** The two Spains here meant are Hispania Tarraconensis and Lusitania.

recens perdomitae. Cf. Livy xxxviii 17 *beluae recens captae*

and Virg. *Georgic* iii 156 *sole recens orto.* Note the emphatic *perdomitae.* Spain was the first transmarine province entered by the Romans; the last to be thoroughly subdued, as Livy points out in xxviii 12. The Cantabri were finally conquered by Agrippa in 19 B.C.

8. **Mauros**, i.e. the kingdom of Mauretania.

Iuba rex, son of the Juba who was defeated at Thapsus, 46 B.C.

9. **donum populi Romani**, from Augustus in 25 B.C.

10. **initio ab Suriae.** Cf. line 2 (above) and iii 72 *ornatum ad urbis.*

11. **quantum ingenti sinu...ambitur**, 'all the vast sweep of country,' i.e. the whole eastern frontier of the empire. The word *sinus* does not necessarily refer to sea-coast; cf. *Germ.* 29 *sinus imperii* [F.].

13. **Hibero.** The Hiberians were south of the Caucasus and north of Armenia.

Albano. The Albanians bordered west on the Hiberians.

aliis regibus, e.g. of Cilicia and Armenia Minor.

15. **Rhoemetalces.** This prince must not be confused with the son of Cotys mentioned in the next note.

liberi Cotyis. The sons of Cotys were named Rhoemetalces, Cotys, and Polemo. They were kept Rome till the death of Tiberius.

16. **Pannonia**, bounded on the east and north by the Danube, included the eastern states of Austria and nearly the whole of Hungary.

17. **Moesia**, extending from Pannonia to the Black Sea, included modern Bulgaria and Servia.

Delmatia, *maritima pars Illyrici* (Vell. ii 125), including modern Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro.

18. **quae positu...accirentur**, 'which on account of their position could act in support of the latter army, and also, in case of a sudden call for help coming from Italy, were within easy reach of that country.'

20. **quamquam insideret.** See note on c. 4 *quamquam arduum sit.*

21. **Etruria Vmbriaque**, abl. of place whence,—'recruited from Etruria and Umbria.'

22. **uetere Latio**, i.e. the communities which had Latin rights before 90 B.C., when the Lex Iulia gave them full citizen rights.

coloniis antiquitus Romanis, 'original Roman colonies,' as opposed to the later transmarine colonies [F.].

23. **idonea prouinciarum**, 'suitable points in the provinces.' The neut. pl. adj. with genitive is a very favourite Tacitean usage.

24. **sociae triremes**, i.e. on the Rhine, Danube, and Black Sea.

alae et auxilia cohortium, i.e. *cohortes alaeque sociae*, 'the infantry and cavalry of the allies.'

neque multo secus uirium, 'whose strength was not far inferior to our own.'

25. **persequi incertum fuerit**, 'no certain details can be given.' For *fuerit* cf. c. 32 and xv 41.

26. **ex usu temporis**, 'in accordance with temporary requirements.' Cf. xi 8 *ex usu praesenti.*

gliscerent numero, 'increased in number.' For the abl. cf. *saepe numero. glisco* is a favourite Tacitean word.

Frost gives a useful summary: 'The legions here mentioned are 25 in number. Supposing them to be at their full complement, to contain 6100 foot soldiers, with a cavalry force of 776 attached to them, the total amount would be in round numbers, 170,000 men. Besides these there were auxiliary troops stationed in the provinces, about equal in strength to the legionaries (*neque multo secus in iis uirium*); so that the forces of the Roman empire would be about 340,000 men.'

6

1. **congruens crediderim**, 'I should think it appropriate.' Cf. *Hist.* v 2 *congruens uidetur.* For the tense cf. c. 3 *neque... abnuerit.*

2. **rei publicae partes**, 'departments of government.'

quibus modis habitae sint, 'how they were conducted.'

5. **apud patres tractabantur.** See Introduction vi.

7. **mandabatque honores...spectando.** This requires care in translation : 'and in the bestowal of offices of state he paid regard to a candidate's ancestry, military distinction, and high qualities in civil life.' For *artes* 'accomplishments,' cf. Horace *Odes* iv 1 *centum puer artium.*

9. **potiores fuisse,** 'had more influence (with the Emperor).'

10. **sua...species,** 'kept their old prestige.' Cf. Cic. *Piso* 24 *magna species, magna dignitas, magna maiestas consulis.*

11. **exercita potestas,** 'the authority was maintained.'

12. **si...eximeretur,** 'excepting the process for high treason.' See Introduction viii.

13. **bono in usu,** 'well enforced,' i.e. neither too strict nor too lax.

frumenta, supplies of grain collected from the Provinces in return for military protection and the maintenance of state officials.

pecuniae uectigales, including *portoria, decumae, scriptura,* etc.

14. **cetera...fructuum,** i.e. woods and forests, mines, salt-works, etc. For the neut. plur., cf. c. 5.

societatibus...agitabantur, 'were managed by companies of Roman capitalists,' i.e. *publicani.* Their business was under the control of presidents (*magistri*) in Rome, and vice-presidents (*pro magistris*) in the provinces. Cf. xiii 50 *uectigalium societates.*

15. **res suas,** probably not the *fiscus* or 'privy purse' of which the Emperor was only the trustee; but the private property alluded to in c. 15 *non se ius nisi in seruitia et pecunias familiares dedisse.* Such agents were called *procuratores patrimonii* [F.].

16. **ex fama,** 'according to their reputation.'

18. **plerique,** here 'most.' 'Many' is the more usual signification of the word in Tacitus.

19. **acri annona,** 'by the high price of food.' Tacitus uses with *annona* metaphors from winter or storms. Cf. ii 87 *saeuitiam annonae.*

20. **quin,** 'on the contrary.'

21. **asperis maris.** Cf. ii 26 *aduersa maris.*

25. **aberant,** 'were unknown,'—an exaggeration.

rari per Italiam. He had larger estates in the Provinces.

26. **modesta seruitia,** 'his slaves were well-behaved.' Some editors take *modesta* as 'moderate in number.' With *seruitia* (*res pro persona*) cf. c. 40 *propiora consilia.*

intra paucos libertos domus, 'his household staff was limited to a few freedmen,'—in contrast to the enormous influence of the imperial freedmen under Claudius.

27. **disceptaret,** 'he had a dispute' i.e. on a fiscal question.

forum et ius, 'there were the courts of justice to settle it.' Cf. Acts xix 38 (R.V.). *forum et ius* is hendiadys.

7

1. **quae cuncta,** 'all this system' (of government).

comi uia. Cf. i 54 *morum uia.*

horridus, 'rough.' Cf. c. 16 *horrida antiquitas.*

2. **plerumque,** 'often' here, not 'generally.'

3. **donec morte Drusi uerterentur.** This was the turning-point in the reign of Tiberius.

5. **ultor,** i.e. Drusus.

6. **non occultus odii,** 'who made no secret of his hatred,' lit. 'not hidden in respect of hatred.' Cf. vi 36 *occultos consilii,* and notice the frequency of the genitive of respect in Tacitus after adjectives and participles.

7. **quantum superesse ut collega dicatur?** 'how small the further step that Sejanus should be called a colleague (of the Emperor)?'

9. **ubi sis ingressus.** N. understands *dominandi spes,* and compares Cic. *ad Fam.* xii 25 *in spem libertatis ingressus sum.*

studia, 'party spirit,' 'party support.'

10. **sponte praefecti,** 'at the Prefect's bidding alone.'

11. **in monimentis Cn. Pompei,** explained by iii 72 *censuere patres effigiem Seiano quae apud theatrum Pompei locaretur.* The theatre of Pompey was now being rebuilt.

12. **communes nepotes,** referring to the project of marriage of his daughter with the son of Claudius. See iii 29.

13. **precandam...modestiam, ut contentus esset,** 'we must pray for moderation on his part, that he may be satisfied.' Cf. xii 65 *robur aetatis precari.* Others (comparing xv 17 *sic quoque optimam fortunam orandam, ut pedes alacrem equitem adsequeretur*) translate, 'Moderation (as a kind of goddess) must be prayed for.' But this seems fanciful [P.F.]. N. quotes another parallel,—Seneca *contr.* xxv 2 *ut salua prouincia sit, optemus meretrici bonam mentem.*

15. **talia iaciebat.** Drusus is the subject.

8

2. **quo...adsimularetur,** final.

4. **octo post annos.** See c. 11.

5. **nullo metu,** 'either because he felt no fear.'

8. **sede uulgari,** 'the ordinary benches' of the senators, instead of their curule chairs on a platform. Cf. Lucan v 16 *Lentulus e celsa sublimis sede profatur.*

honoris locique, 'their office and rank.'

10. **non quidem...senatus,** 'he was well aware, he said, that he might be criticised for meeting the gaze of the Senate, while his bereavement was so fresh.'

15. **e complexu rei publicae,** 'by throwing himself into affairs of state.' Cf. xv 9 *dum amplectitur rem publicam* and xiii 1 *negotia pro solaciis accipiens.*

16. **Augustae extremam senectam.** She was now 80. She lived to be 86.

rudem, 'inexperienced.' Cf. c. 3 *nepotes adulti.* But the two referred to were only 18 and 15 years old.

17. **uergentem.** Tiberius was now 65.

18. **Germanici liberi.** Only two are meant, viz. Nero and Drusus. See line 29.

20. **deductos,** 'led in,' 'escorted.'

24. **ne secus quam...conformaret,** 'to cherish them as his own flesh and blood, to exalt them in the state, and to fashion them for himself and for posterity.'

25. **attolleret.** Cf. iii 72 *attollere triumphi insignibus.*

26. **disque et patria coram.** For the *anastrophe* cf. c. 5.

29. **hi,** 'these Senators.'

30. **bona malaque uestra,** 'any good or evil in you,' referring to character rather than fortune. This harmonises better with the context.

9

3. **gloria,** 'pride' in the minds of the Senators at the picture drawn by the Emperor.

impleuerat, after *si posuisset.* This rhetorical use of the indic. for subj. in the apodosis of conditional sentences is frequent in Tacitus. Cf. vi 9 *contremuerant patres, ni Celsus Appium discrimini exemisset.*

4. **de reddenda re publica.** See Introduction v.

utque consules. Tacitus delights in changes of construction. We have another in line 7, *memoriae Drusi...in Germanicum.*

6. **uero dempsit,** 'he robbed of their credit even true and honourable feelings.'

8. **plerisque** must mean 'many things' here.

amat. Cf. the similar use of φιλέω.

10. **origo,** 'founder.' Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* xii 166 *hinc pater Aeneas Romani stirpis origo.*

12. **Attus Clausus.** According to the generally received tradition, the Claudii were descended from the Sabine noble Attus Clausus, who migrated to Rome. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 1 *patricia gens Claudia orta est ex Regillis, oppido Sabinorum.*

10

1. **plurimis...auctoribus,** 'most numerous and most trustworthy authorities.'

3. **non omiserim,** 'I must not omit.' See note on c. 3 *neque abnuerit.*

5. **scelus,** used often of murder, especially by poison. For *corrupta ad scelus* cf. ii 62 *corruptis ad societatem.*

6. **uinxisse,** 'bound down to his service.' Cf. vi 45 *pacto matrimonii uincire. deuincio* is commonly used in this sense.

9. **eo audaciae prouectum.** Cf. ii 55 *eo usque corruptionis prouectus.*

uerteret, 'he quite shifted the look of things,' 'turned the matter quite round'; so that Drusus, instead of being the victim, was made to appear a schemer against the life of another [P.F.].

occulto indicio, 'by a covert hint.'

13. **postquam...inierat.** The interposition, in the midst of *oratio obliqua*, of a subordinate clause in the indic. is not uncommon in Tacitus. Cf. *quam...struxerat* (below). There are several instances with *dum* (with present).

15. **auctam suspicionem tamquam...inrogaret**, a thoroughly Tacitean form of speech. Translate, 'and thus enhanced his father's suspicion that he was inflicting on himself....' Cf. c. 13.

11

1. **super id quod...firmantur**, 'apart from the fact that they are supported by no trustworthy authority.'

2. **prompte refutaueris**, 'the reader may readily reject.' Cf. note on c. 3.

3. **nedum...exercitus**, 'much less one trained in high affairs of state like Tiberius.'

4. **exitium offerret**, 'would offer a deadly poison' [R.]. Cic. has *mortem alicui offerre* in two passages.

5. **nullo ad paenitendum regressu**, 'leaving himself no means of retreat to a change of purpose' [F.]. Cf. Livy xxiv 26 *neque locus paenitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus* and xlii 13 *unde receptum ad paenitendum non haberent.*

6. **ministrum ueneni**, i.e. the attendant who handed the cup.

auctorem, 'who had prompted him.'

8. **aduersum unicum**, 'towards an only son.'

flagitii conpertum, 'found guilty of misconduct,' also used by Livy; by Tacitus again in i 3.

11. **ceterorum...odio**, 'the hatred of the rest of the world towards them both.'

quamuis fabulosa, 'ever so fabulous.' For this use of *quamuis* see Roby 1627.

12. **atrociore...exitus**, 'rumour being always inclined to the horrible when dealing with the deaths of princes.' For *erga... exitus* cf. c. 20 and 74.

13. **ordo...sceleris**, 'all the details of the crime.' Cf. Livy iii 50 *ordine cuncta exposuit* and xl 55 *ordinem omnem facinoris exposuit.*

alioqui, 'besides.' The word usually means 'in other respects' or 'in general.'

14. **Apicatam Seiani.** For *uxor* understood cf. Virgil's *Hectoris Andromache* (*Aen.* iii 319); Cic. *ad Att.* xii 20 *Seruiliae Claudii.* Tacitus (in xii. 1) has *Lolliam Paulinam M. Lollii consularis*, where we must understand *filiam.*

17. **conquirerent**, 'raked up.'

intenderent, 'exaggerated.' See note on c. 2.

19. **auditiones**, abstract for concrete. Cf. Cic. *pro Plancio* 56 *fictae auditiones.*

20. **cura nostra uenerit**, 'my work may fall.' *cura* is again used for 'literary work' in iii 24; and N. quotes Ovid *ex Ponto* ii 4, 16 *hoc pretium curae dulce recentis erat.*

22. **in miraculum corruptis.** Cf. Thuc. i 21 *ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα.*

12

2. **habitum**, 'bearing,' 'demeanour.'

dolentum. So also in c. 41, according to the Medicean. N. compares xi 22 *salutantum* and vi 50 *gratantum.*

3. **libens**, 'voluntarily,' 'from the heart.' Cf. c. 58 and xiv 61 *libens quam coactus.*

induebat, 'put on,' 'assumed,'—a very frequent metaphor in Tacitus. So too is *exuo.*

4. **quod principium...adcelerauere**, 'but this beginning of popularity and the ill-concealed hopes of their mother Agrippina only hastened their ruin.'

5. **mater spem male tegens.** This idiomatic use is very common with the past participle, but rare with the present. Cf. c. 34 *id perniciabile reo et Caesar truci uultu defensionem accipiens.*

7. **inultam interfectoribus**, 'was unavenged on the murderers,' 'brought no punishment on the murderers.'

8. **ferox scelerum**, 'bold in crime.' Cf. c. 53 *peruicax irae*, c. 7 *occultus odii*, i. 32 *animi ferox*, where perhaps *animi* is locative. In *Hist.* i 35 we have *linguae ferox.*

prima prouenerant would be in Greek *τὰ πρῶτα προυχώρησεν.*

9. **uolutare**, historic infin. Cf. *insectari...exagitare* (below). With *uolutare secum* cf. Virg. *Ecl.* ix 37 *mecum ipse uoluto.*

11. **spargi uenenum**, perhaps borrowed from Cic. *Cat.* ii 23 *sicas uibrare et spargere uenena didicerant.* This verb often has the meaning 'distribute.'

12. **fide et pudicitia**, abl. of cause.

14. **recentem Liuiae conscientiam**, 'Livia's new and guilty knowledge.' Augusta had always hated Agrippina and her family; whilst Livia's consciousness of her recent guilt made it impossible for her to shrink from any suggestion that might be made for realising the fruits of her crime [R.].

exagitare, 'work upon.'

15. **ut...apud Caesarem arguerent**, 'bidding them attack her before the Emperor as....'

superbam fecunditate, 'pluming herself on the number of her children.' On this Merivale writes brilliantly (*Romans under the Empire*, c. 45): 'Like a true Roman she exercised without fear or shame the national licence of the tongue—*illa lingua Romana* (Tertullian)—and in a court where no whisper was not repeated proclaimed aloud to every listener the wrongs of which she deemed herself the victim. The fertility with which her marriage had been blest had been long a source of jealousy to the morbid self-love of the empress-mother, which even in extreme age was piqued by the maternal taunts of this Niobe of the Palace.'

16. **inhiare dominationi**, 'was setting her heart on sovereignty.' Cf. Hor. *Sat.* i 1 71 *congestis undique saccis inhians.*

17. **atque haec**, 'and Livia (i.e. Livilla)....' So Ritter rightly without doubt, taking *haec* as feminine sing. Cf. c. 3 *atque illa....*

callidis criminatoribus, a Tacitean extension of the abl. of instr. to a personal agent,—'by means of cunning slanderers.' Cf. ii 79 *corruptoribus temptare.*

19. **consiliis suis**, i.e. Livia's plans.

20. **in animo...ualida**, 'was strong in Augusta's affections.' Cf. xiv 51 *ualidior Tigellinus in animo principis*. For the omission of the verb *sum*, which is very common in Tacitus, cf. line 10.

21. **potentiae anxiam**, objective gen.,—'solicitous for undue power.' Cf. ii 75 *incerta ultionis*, *anxia sui* and Ov. *Met.* i 623 *anxia furti.*

insociabilem nurui efficiebat, 'she (i.e. Livia) was bringing about a thorough estrangement between Augusta and her grand-daughter-in-law' (i.e. Agrippina). For *nurui* the editors quote from the Digest *nurus appellatione non tantum filii uxor, sed et nepotis et pronepotis continetur, licet quidem has pronurus appellent.*

23. **prauis sermonibus...perstimulare**, 'to incite her rising ambition by wrong-headed suggestions.'

13

1. **nihil**, acc. of extent used adverbially.

rerum cura, 'attention to public business.'

2. **ius ciuium...tractabat**, 'he dealt with the trials of citizens and petitions from allied communities.' Examples of both follow. See Introduction iii.

4. **ciuitati Cibyraticae**. Cibyra was a town in the south-western corner of Phrygia. Cf. Hor. 1 *Epist.* vi 33.

Aegiensi. Aegium on the gulf of Corinth was the chief city of Achaia. It was the meeting place of the Achaean League (Livy xxxviii 30).

7. **ulterioris Hispaniae**, i.e. Baetica at this time. Its seat of government was at Corduba.

ui publica, 'violence in a public capacity,' i.e. the execution, scourging, etc., of a Roman citizen who had appealed to the Emperor. This was regulated by the *lex Iulia de ui publica*.

8. **atrocitatem morum** 'his savage temper.'

Amorgum. Amorgus is one of the Cyclades, south-east of Naxos.

9. **reus tamquam...iuuisset**, 'accused on the ground of

having helped,'—a thoroughly Tacitean usage. Cf. c. 10 and 13; also i 12 *inuisus tamquam...agitaret*. Note that *tamquam* in such passages does not imply the falseness of the allegation.

13. **insulam Cercinam**, in the lesser Syrtes off the north coast of Africa.

14. **artium**, 'accomplishments.' Cf. c. 6.

mox, 'subsequently,' not 'soon.'

15. **mutando sordidas merces**, 'by engaging in petty trade.' Cf. Cic. *de off.* i 150 *inliberales et sordidi quaestus*. Livy (xxi 63) says that all trade (*quaestus*) was looked upon as *indecorus* for senators.

16. **magnae fortunae**, 'of high rank,'—the ordinary meaning of *fortuna* in Tacitus.

17. **Aelius Lamia**, addressed by Horace (*Odes* i 26, iii 17).

L. Apronius had served under Germanicus in Germany (i 56).

qui Africam obtinuerant, 'who had held Africa,'—i.e. as governors. The verb is very frequent in this sense.

18. **claritudine infausti generis**, 'on account of his illustrious and ill-starred name' [R.]—alluding to the celebrated Gracchi.

19. **foret abstractus**, 'would have been ruined,'—lit. 'would have been hurried off.' Supply *ad perniciem*. Cf. *Hist.* iv 2 *nec perinde prosperis socius quam aduersis abstractus*.

14

1. **quoque**, i.e. like the previous year.

2. **habuit.** We say 'saw.' Cf. xiii 33 *idem annus plures reos habuit*.

Samiis...petentibus, 'the Samians petitioning that the old rights of sanctuary should be confirmed to the temple of Juno, the people of Cos making the same request for their temple of Aesculapius.'

Iunonis. For the famous Heraeum of Samos see Herodotus ii 148, iii 60.

Aesculapii. Cos was the great centre of this cult. The 'sons of Aesculapius' had a famous medical school there; and the great doctor Hippocrates was born and lived there.

3. **firmaretur** would be *confirmaretur* in the best Latin.

4. **Amphictyonum**, the Amphictyonic Council, of which we read so much in Demosthenes, meeting in the spring at Delphi and in the autumn at Thermopylae.

quis...iudicium, 'who had the supreme decision in all such matters.'

5. **qua tempestate**, 'at the time when...,'—found also in this sense in Cicero, Sallust, and Livy; also in poetry.

8. **accedebat meritum ex loco**, 'besides there was a special service connected with the place.'

9. **templo induxerant**. For the dative cf. v 1 *penatibus suis induxerit.*

iussu Mithridatis, in 88 B.C., when 80,000 Roman citizens were massacred. Many sanctuaries were violated on this occasion.

11. **uariis...questibus**, 'after various complaints.'

praetorum, who had the *ius ludorum*, i.e. charge of public games.

12. **inmodestia**, 'misconduct.'

13. **rettulit**, i.e. drew attention to the subject in the Senate.

14. **Oscum ludicrum**. By the 'Oscan Drama' is meant the performance of the *Fabulae Atellanae*, comedies originally performed by amateurs, but now taken up by the professional *pantomimi*. See Livy vii 2.

15. **leuissimae...oblectationis**, gen. of quality,—'characterised by the most frivolous amusement.'

16. **uirium**, 'violence,' not 'influence,' as some take it.

17. **pulsi histriones Italia**. They were restored by Caligula. According to Suetonius, the punishment was not so universal. He says (*Tib.* 37): *caede in theatro per discordiam admissa, capita factionum et histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegauit.* But Dio Cassius makes it more general.

15

2. **alterum ex geminis**, about four years old.

extinguendo. See note on c. 2.

5. **Rhodii secessus comes.** Two knights also accompanied him (vi 10).

6. **censorium funus**, a synonym for *funus publicum* 'state funeral.' Though censors were no longer appointed, this technical term was retained. Under the republic they had the control of state funerals. Cf. xiii 2 *decretum Claudio censorium funus et mox consecratio.*

7. **forum Augusti**, north-east of the Forum proper, between the Capitol and the Quirinal.

8. **apud quos etiam tum**, in contrast to the later practice of a private trial before the Emperor. Here we have his own *procurator* (or fiscal officer) put on his trial before the Senate.

9. **accusante prouincia.** Tacitus often speaks of the victimised province as prosecutor. Cf. xiii 33 *accusante prouincia Asia*; xiv 17 *accusantibus Cyrenensibus.*

10. **ut...causam dixerit**, i.e. before the Senate, supplied from *apud quos* above. For the use of perf. subj. as an aorist cf. c. 1 *ierit*, c. 20 *uiguerit.*

11. **non se ius...dedisse**, 'he had given no authority to Capito except over his own slaves and revenues,'—called by Dio τὰ αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα 'the imperial property.' The epithet *familiares* also covers *seruitia.*

12. **uim praetoris**, 'the authority of a governor,' a general term. The Proconsul of Asia was always of consular rank.

usurpasset, not 'usurped,' but 'employed.'

13. **audirent socios**, 'let the Senate hear the evidence of the allies,' i.e. the provincials.

14. **damnatur**, i.e. to banishment.

15. **in C. Silanum uindicatum erat**, a construction found also in Cicero and Caesar.

17. **permissum statuere**, 'leave was given to build it.' Cf. c. 48 *iisque permissum uastare, urere, trahere praedas.*

18. **Nero**. Young princes of the imperial house often acted as *patroni* of the Provinces.

19. **laetas...adfectiones**, 'amid the delighted feelings of his audience.'

20. **recenti...rebantur**, 'with still fresh memories of Ger-

manicus, they thought it was his form they saw....' *recenti memoria* is sociative abl.

22. **principe uiro.** Cf. iii 6 *non eadem decora principibus uiris et imperatori populo.*

16

1. **flamine Diali.** Some extracts from Warde Fowler's *Religious Experience of the Roman People* will form a useful commentary on some points in this chapter. He gives a long list of taboos or disabilities to which the Priest of Jupiter was even in historical times subject. He was forbidden to touch a dog, a goat, raw meat, etc., etc. He might not walk under a vine (p. 34). The Flamen was a survival of those magician-kings who make rain and do other useful things, but would lose their power if they were exposed to certain contingencies. The number of possible contingencies increases till the unfortunate owner of the powers becomes powerless by virtue of the care so painfully taken of him (p. 108).

Warde Fowler illustrates this by a 'most extraordinary story' from Livy (xxvii 8). In 209 B.C. C. Valerius Flaccus, the black sheep of a great family, was inaugurated against his will as Flamen Dialis by the Pontifex Maximus, P. Licinius. Livy expressly tells us that it was *ob adulescentiam neglegentem luxuriosamque*; and it is pretty plain that the step was suggested by the relations to keep him out of mischief. For the disabilities on this ancient priesthood were, as we have seen, numerous and strict; and among the restrictions laid on its holder was one which forbade him to leave his house for a single night (p. 342). The strange thing in the case of Flaccus is that this office had such a wholesome disciplinary effect that the libertine became a model youth, the admiration of his own and other families (p. 343). See however note on line 13 (below).

2. **roganda noua lege**, 'a proposal of a change in the law.' Tacitus not unfrequently speaks of the passing of *leges*. Cf. lines 12 and 16. Their enactment by the *comitia* must have been purely formal.

3. **confarreatis parentibus**, i.e. married according to the

solemn sacramental rite. Warde Fowler says (p. 130): 'As *farreus*, Jupiter gave his sanction to the solemn contract entered into in the ancient form of marriage by *confarreatio*, where his flamen had to be present, and where in all probability the cake of *far* was eaten as a kind of sacrament by the parties to the covenant...The bride must enter the family in such a way as to share in its *sacra*.'

4. **ex quis unus legeretur.** The final choice lay with the Pontifex maximus, who had a 'compelling' power. Cf. Livy xxvii 8 *flamen captus*, i.e. 'taken' for the office against his will.

7. **pluresque...uitarentur.** 'The parenthetical sentence gives two explanations of the first cause, namely, natural negligence of a cumbrous ceremony and deliberate avoidance of its accompanying impediments' [F.].

8. **potissimam penes incuriam,** 'the chief one concerned with indifference to the rite.' Cf. Horace *A. P.* 71 *quem penes arbitrium est.* The preposition is generally restricted to persons.

9. **accedere,** 'were added.'

difficultates, especially the complicated process of *diffareatio*, the only means of dissolving such a marriage.

10. **exiret e iure patrio...conueniret,** i.e. when a man became *flamen*, both he and his wife passed out of the *patria potestas*, the woman coming under that of her husband.

11. **flamonium,** office of *flamen* or *flaminica*, the correct spelling, supported both by inscriptions and manuscripts.

12. **ita medendum...lege,** 'accordingly he held that some remedy should be applied either by law or decree of the Senate.'

13. **sicut...flexisset,** 'as Augustus had accommodated certain relics of a rude antiquity to the modern spirit' [C. and B.]. Especially, we learn from iii 71 that he had relaxed the rule forbidding the *flamen* to be absent from home for a single night.

14. **tractatis religionibus,** 'after a discussion of religious difficulties.'

16. **sed lata lex.** Part of Frost's useful note may be quoted:—'The matter was settled by a compromise; that is to say, she was to be so far *in manu uiri* as to enable her to perform

all rites which could only be performed by one who was so circumstanced; but in other matters she was to be on the same footing as other women, i.e., I suppose, there was not, as a matter of necessity, to be *in manum conuentio*, as there had been up to this period, by reason of her marriage *per confarreationem*.'

flaminica Dialis was not priestess of Juno as is commonly supposed; but assisted her husband in the cult of Jupiter. She also was subject to certain taboos or disabilities; e.g. on three occasions in the religious year she might not appear in public with her hair 'done up'; and she might only wear shoes made from the skin of a sacrificial victim [Warde Fowler, pp. 35, 36].

17. **cetera**, acc. of respect with *ageret*, 'should live in all other respects.' This use of *ago* is very common in Tacitus.

promisco...iure, 'with the ordinary rights of women.'

18. **patri suffectus.** Cf. *in locum defuncti* (line 1) and the phrase *consul suffectus*.

19. **glisceret**, 'be increased.' Cf. c. 5.

20. **ad capessendas caerimonias**, 'to undertake religious duties.'

21. **capiebatur.** See note on line 4, and cf. ii 86 *capiendam uirginem in locum Occiae*.

22. **sestertium uiciens**, 'two million sesterces,' i.e. about £17,000 in our money.

23. **sedes inter Vestalium.** For the *anastrophe* cf. c. 8.

17

1. **Visellio Varrone.** He was one of the 'conservators' of the Tiber,—*curator riparum et aluei Tiberis*, as we learn from an inscription quoted by N.

3. **pro incolumitate principis**, offered regularly on Jan. 3rd, to be distinguished from those offered for the State on Jan. 1st. See c. 70.

5. **caritate...adulatione**, abl. of cause.

quae moribus...nimia est, 'and in a corrupt age flattery is equally perilous, whether it is non-existent or excessive.' For *si...ubi* cf. i 44.

8. **tum uero**, 'now especially.'

aequari...indoluit. He complained that to join them with himself in this prayer for the imperial family was to make as much of their health, young and vigorous as they were, as of the grave infirmity of years under which he felt himself to labour [Merivale].

10. **num id...tribuissent**, 'whether this was a compliment paid....'

12. **quamquam abnuerent**, 'though they denied the imputation.' For the syntax cf. c. 4.

etenim...erant. This sentence explains the gentleness of the rebuke.

pars magna, i.e. *pontificum.* The young Drusus was himself a *pontifex*.

13. **ipsius**, i.e. of the Emperor.

15. **mobiles**, 'giddy.'

16. **instabat...ciuitatem**, 'for Sejanus was urgently insinuating that the State was torn asunder.'

19. **neque aliud...subuerterentur**, 'the only remedy for the growing schism was to put away one or two of the most active spirits.'

18

3. **Silio et quod**, 'to Silius it was also ruinous that....' It is in 14 A.D. that we first find him in command of the army of Upper Germany. He remained in the same post till he conquered Sacrovir in 21 A.D.

ingentis exercitus, i.e. the four legions on the Upper Rhine.

4. **triumphalibus.** He gained the *triumphalia insignia* for his services in Germany in 15 A.D. The *insignia* consisted of the triumphal dress and ornaments; they could be displayed at the public games. The triumph proper could only be celebrated by a member of the imperial house.

5. **quanto maiore...dispergebatur**, 'the greater his fall, the greater the panic it would spread to others.'

7. **plerique**, *πολλοί*, not *οἱ πολλοί*.

9. **cum alii...prolaberentur**, 'when others were prone to mutiny.'

10. **mansurum**, sc. *fuisse*.

si iis...fuisset, 'if disaffection had spread to his own legions.'

11. **destrui...Caesar**, 'the Emperor felt that by such pretensions his own position was lowered.' *fortuna* often denotes 'position,' 'rank' in Tacitus, especially imperial rank.

13. **beneficia...posse**, 'benefits are only welcome so long as it seems possible to discharge them.'

14. **ubi multum anteuenere**, 'when they have far exceeded that limit.' Notice how fond Tacitus is of ending a chapter with a pungent epigram like this. The word *anteuenio* is not found elsewhere.

15. **pro gratia odium redditur.** Ritter quotes Seneca *Epist.* 19 *quidam quo plus debent magis oderunt; leue aes alienum debitorem facit, graue inimicum.*

19

1. **caritate Agrippinae.** The gen. is objective.

2. **principi.** See Introduction v.

hos corripi...placitum, 'it was determined to attack both Silius and Sabinus.'

3. **Sabino**, i.e. the trial of Sabinus. See c. 68–70.

inmissus, 'let loose,' 'set on,' i.e. to prosecute. The metaphor is from letting loose animals. Cf. Suet. *Nero* 43 *urbem incendere, feris in populum immissis.*

qui paternas...gratificabatur, 'who on pretence of having some quarrel of his father's to avenge was ready to sacrifice his own honour to abet the animosities of Sejanus' [R.]. See iii 43.

6. **dum...abiret**, final,—'to give time for the prosecutor (Varro) to vacate his office.'

7. **solitum quippe**, 'for it was customary, he urged ...'

8. **cuius uigiliis niteretur**, 'on whose vigilance he depended....'

10. **proprium id Tiberio**, 'it was a peculiarity of Tiberius.'

11. **priscis uerbis.** He had alluded to the old term *senatus consultum ultimum*: i.e. *darent operam consules ne quid res publica*

detrimenti caperet—, establishing a kind of martial law. Also, F. suggests that *uigiliis* may be a reference to an old phrase *uigilia consularis*. See Cic. *Phil.* i 1; and, generally, for Tiberius' preference for old constitutional formalities, see i 7 *Tiberius per consules cuncta incipiebat tamquam uetere re publica.*

multa adseueratione...coguntur patres, 'with this profound solemnity he convened the Senate'; 'with repeated protestations' of the urgency of the case, etc. [P.F.]. Cf. ii 31 *accusatio apud patres adseueratione eadem peracta.*

quasi...ageretur, 'as if Silius were being dealt with according to law.' *lege agere* is a commoner phrase.

aut Varro consul, 'or Varro were really consul,'—seeing that the various departments of government were being gradually handed over to the Emperor. See Introduction v.

13. **aut illud res publica esset**, 'or that state of things were really a commonwealth.' For the syntax cf. i 49 *non medicinam illud appellans.* For *res publica* in the sense of 'ordered commonwealth' cf. i 43 *quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam uidisset?* also xiii 28 *manebat quaedam imago rei publicae.* In these passages it does not mean a republican form of government as opposed to a monarchy.

15. **non occultante...premeretur**, 'making it clear whose displeasure was bearing him down.'

conscientia belli...arguebantur, 'he was charged with having connived at the movement of Sacrovir, and with sullying his victory by rapacity. The conduct of his wife Sosia was also brought up against him' [R.]. For the syntax cf. Livy xl 54 *stimulabat animum et alter filius haud dubie rex conuersique in eum omnium oculi et destituta senectus;* and xl 24 *fuga per Paeoniam praeparata arguebatur et corrupti quidam.*

16. **Sacrouir diu dissimulatus**, lit. 'the fact that he had long ignored the proceedings of Sacrovir.' Cf. xv 71 *Acilia...dissimulata.* For *conscientia belli*, 'through privity to his rebellion,' cf. xii 31 *conscientia rebellionis.* Sacrovir and Florus, two Romanised provincials in Gaul, engaged in a conspiracy to throw off the Roman yoke. Florus undertook to gain over the Belgae and Treviri; Sacrovir intrigued among the Aedui and other

tribes; the Aedui had seized Autun. But the rising was premature; and both leaders died by their own hands. The name Sacrovir points to his holding some religious office.

per auaritiam, apparently by extortions from those who had not joined the rebellion [F.].

17. **uxor Sosia**, i.e. not kept in proper order, and receiving bribes.

nec dubie...haerebant, 'and clearly they (Silius and Sosia) could not free themselves from the charges of extortion.'

18. **cuncta...exercita**, 'the whole trial was conducted as if on the charge of treason.'

19. **maiestatis**. See Introduction viii.

20. **praeuertit**, 'anticipated.' Cf. Lucan viii 30 *praeuertit tristia leto.*

20

1. **saeuitum in bona**, 'a cruel raid was made on his property.' Cf. c. 1.

tamen, i.e. although he had anticipated condemnation by suicide. See Introduction vi.

stipendiariis, tribute-payers in the province of Silius.

2. **repetebat**, 'made claim for restitution,'—a technical term. Hence the phrase in c. 19 (*rerum*) *repetundarum crimina* 'charges of extortion.'

3. **liberalitas Augusti auulsa**, 'grants made to Silius by Augustus were abstracted from his estate.' Tacitus uses *liberalitas* specially in this sense.

4. **conputatis...petebantur**, 'the claims of the imperial treasury being reckoned up in detail.' *singillatim* would refer to various special grants.

6. **sententia**, often of a motion in the Senate.

partem bonorum, 'half of Sosia's property.'

7. **publicandam...ut relinqueretur**. Tacitus is fond of such changes of construction.

8. **M'. Lepidus**, i.e. Manius Lepidus.

9. **legis**. This is the *lex Iulia de maiestate*, which was passed by Augustus, and stated the minimum to be allowed to informers.

11. **pleraque...flexit**, 'he modified many sentences in an opposite direction to the cruel servility of others' [F.].

12. **neque tamen...egebat**, 'and yet (though so independent) he was not wanting in discretion.'

13. **aequabili**, 'uniform,' i.e. without a break.

14. **uiguerit**. The use of the perf. subj. in an aoristic sense is very common in Silver Latin. Cf. c. 1 and 15.

unde dubitare...uacuum. Merivale (*Romans under the Empire*, c. 45) has some useful comments on this passage:—'Tacitus, as a disciple of the school of the fatalists, is constrained on this occasion to enquire whether the favour or hostility of princes is a matter of mere chance and destiny, or whether there may not still be room for prudent counsel and good sense in the conduct of human affairs; whether a secure path of life, however hard to trace, might not still be discovered amidst the perils of the times, between the extremes of rude independence and base servility. The great defect of the Romans of this period lay in their want of the true self-respect which is engendered by the consciousness of sober consistency. Bred in the speculative maxims of Greek and Roman republicanism, they passed their manhood either in unlearning the lessons of the schools, or in exaggerating them in a spirit of senseless defiance.'

20. **animo diuersus**, 'different in character.'

21. **quamquam insontes**. Cf. note on c. 11 *quamuis fabulosa*.

22. **alienae**, explained by *uxorum*.

23. **perinde quam suis**, 'just as if they had been committed by themselves.'

21

2. **feroci**, 'high-spirited,'—the meaning which it usually bears in the best writers. Thus in Livy the Roman army is called *ferocissimus*. Cf. c. 12.

ut rettuli. See ii 34. This was eight years previously.

3. **factiones accusatorum**, 'the intrigues of informers.'

4. **potentia**, as usual, of real power, undue influence. Cf. c. 41.

Vrgulaniam, grandmother of Plautius Silvanus. See c. 22 and ii 34.

6. **ciuiliter habuit**, 'took as a citizen should,' i.e. in a popular spirit, not as an emperor (*non ui principis*, iii 12). Cf. iii 76 *quod ciuiliter acceptum*; *Hist.* ii 21 *comitia ciuiliter celebrans*; also Juvenal v 112 *poscimus ut cenes ciuiliter*. Later writers are fond of the antithesis, e.g. Capitolinus, *adepti imperium ita ciuiliter se ambo egerunt.*

habuit. N. quotes xii 48 *cum laetitia habendum*; xv 28 *cum hostili odio habebatur.*

7. **impetus...languerat**, 'the first access of ill-feeling had faded away.'

8. **secreti sermonis aduersum maiestatem.** Note the extension of *maiestas* to spoken words. See Introduction viii.

10. **gladio accinctum.** It was forbidden by law to wear a sword in the city.

11. **atrocius uero**, 'too outrageous to be true.' For the idiom N. quotes Hor. *Epist.* i 10, 43 *calceus pede maior*: Livy ii 27 *curatio altior fastigio suo.*

12. **ceterorum...reus**, 'he was indicted on the remaining counts heaped up in large numbers.'

13. **neque peractus**, 'but his trial was not brought to a conclusion.'

ob mortem opportunam. Cf. *Agric.* 45 *felix opportunitate mortis.*

relatum, 'a motion was made' in the Senate.

14. **Cassio Seuero.** Cassius was an able and elegant rhetorician, of whom Quintilian writes, *plus bilis habet quam sanguinis* (x 1, 117).

15. **orandi ualidus**, 'a forcible speaker at the bar,' lit. 'strong in pleading.' For the Tacitean genitive of the thing *in point of which* cf. the genitives with *occultus* (c. 7), *peruicax* (c. 53), *praeclarus* (c. 34).

16. **iudicio iurati senatus.** For voting on oath cf. c. 31 *ut iure iurando obstringeret e re publica id esse*; and Livy xxx 40 *patres iurati censuerunt.* It was to give greater solemnity.

18. **aduertit**, 'drew on himself.' Cf. Pliny *Epist.* ix 26 *omnes aduertit quod eminet et exstat.*

bonis exutus, a frequent Tacitean metaphor,—'stripped of his property.'

interdicto igni atque aqua, impers. abl. abs., lit. 'fire and water having been forbidden him.'

19. **saxo Seripho**, contemptuous. It was a small island, one of the Cyclades (now Serpho), a frequent place of banishment. Cf. Juv. x 170 *ut Gyari clausus scopulis paruaque Seripho.*

22

1. **praetor.** He was *praetor urbanus.*

2. **in praeceps**, either from the window or down the stairs. Cf. vi 49 *iacto in praeceps corpore.* In vi 17 we have *praeceps dare.*

3. **tractus ad Caesarem**, in the first instance. Afterwards Tiberius remits the case to the Senate.

4. **tamquam ipse**, sc. *fuisset.* Translate: 'alleging that he had been fast asleep.' P.F. quotes *Germ.* 39 *superstitio respicit tamquam inde initia gentis.*

7. **reluctantis et impulsae uestigia**, lit. 'traces of one struggling and thrown by violence.'

8. **refert ad senatum**, 'he remitted the case to the Senate,' after some investigations of his own.

datis iudicibus, 'the case having been sent for trial,' i.e. before a commission (*quaestio*). The full phrase is *dare actionem et iudices.*

10. **quasi principis monitu**, sc. *factum.* Translate: 'this was taken as a hint from the Emperor himself.'

12. **uenas praebuit exsoluendas**, a very common method of suicide at this time.

13. **Numantina accusata iniecisse.** For this use of the nom. and infin. cf. xiii 23 *deferuntur consensisse Pallas ac Burrus.*

23

1. **longo...bello.** The war with Tacfarinas began in 17 A.D. See ii 52. He was a Numidian who had served among the auxiliaries of the Roman army, and, having gained a knowledge of military science, deserted, and collected a body of freebooters. He was chosen as leader of the Musulamii, a powerful people in the interior of Numidia, on the southern side of Mount Aurasius.

The Musulamian war gave much trouble. Tacfarinas defied the Roman arms for some years. The insurrection spread westward into Mauretania, and eastward to the country of the Garamantes. The Roman commanders sent out for some years proved incompetent, till in 24 A.D. Blaesus was appointed on the Emperor's intervention.

3. **ubi...crediderant**, 'when they thought that their achievements were sufficient for the winning of triumphal honours.' For *triumphalium insigni*, cf. c. 18.

5. **tres...statuae**, won by Furius Camillus 17 A.D., L. Apronius 20 A.D., and Junius Blaesus 22 A.D. Cf. *Agricola* 40 *inlustris statuae honorem.*

6. **Africam**, the Roman Province of Africa.

7. **iuuenta**, causal,—'negligent owing to youth.'

8. **libertos regios et seruilia imperia**, hendiadys. Translate: 'had chosen war rather than submit to be ordered about like slaves by the king's freedmen' [R.].

10. **rex Garamantum.** The Garamantes are generally placed in Fezzan.

non ut...incederet, 'not so far as to take the field' [F.].

11. **quae...in maius audiebantur**, 'the strength of which was exaggerated by distance.' This sense of *audio* ('hear of') is requent in Tacitus, e.g. ii 68 *audita regis fuga*; *Germ.* 37 *cum primum Cimbrorum arma audita sunt.*

13. **moribus turbidus**, 'turbulent in character.'

14. **ruebant**, 'were flocking to his standard.'

res a Blaeso gestas. See iii 73, 74.

quasi nullis...hostibus. Cf. the more frequent Tacitean use of *tamquam.*

15. **nonam legionem.** See v 4.

24

2. **lacerari**, 'was being worried.'

5. **incubuissent**, 'made an effort.' Cf. c. 73 *si simul incubuissent.*

Thubuscum, or Thubursicum, a town lying a little to the north of Mount Aurasius.

8. **primo sui incessu.** *sui* (for *suo*) is emphatic,—'when he advanced in person.' Cf. ii 13 *fruitur fama sui.*

9. **soluit obsidium.** We say 'raised the siege.'

locorum opportuna permuniuit. Cf. Kitchener's 'blockhouses' in the last stage of the South African war.

12. **non graui nec uno incursu,** 'with a single attack in heavy marching order.'

14. **cum popularibus,** 'and his people.'

15. **agmina,** 'columns.'

16. **ipse consultor aderat omnibus,** 'he himself directed the operations as a whole' [R.].

25

3. **positis mapalibus.** Cf. iii 74 *mutantem mapalia Tacfarinatem.* These moveable huts are mentioned by Livy xxix 31 *cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis persecuti sunt regem.*

4. **saltibus,** 'forests.'

5. **expeditae cohortes alaeque,** 'infantry and cavalry of the allies in light order.'

6. **simulque...et.** Cf. i 65 *simul haec, et scindit agmen.*

8. **aderant in barbaros,** just as we say vividly 'they were upon them.'

praepeditis, 'hobbled.' The equivalent Greek word is πεποδισμένος.

9. **diuersos,** 'far off.'

ab Romanis, 'on the Roman side.' Cf. the phrases *a tergo, a fronte.*

10. **dispositae turmae,** 'their cavalry were posted at proper intervals' [R.].

12. **consilium,** 'plan of battle.'

13. **trahi, occidi, capi,** i.e. those who were dragged away were slain or made prisoners [F.].

infensus, 'infuriated.'

14. **et aduersum eludentes...pugnae** depends on *memoria.* Translate: 'and of battle so often longed for against an enemy foiling them.' For the absolute use of *eludere* cf. iii 74.

15. **differtur...consectentur**, 'word is passed along the lines, let all make for Tacfarinas.'

18. **deiectis circum stipatoribus**, 'when his guards had been struck down around him.'

19. **effusis**, 'pouring in from every side,' 'closing in.'

26

2. **Seiano tribuens ne...obsolesceret**, 'paying thereby a compliment to Sejanus, to prevent the glory of his uncle Blaesus being dimmed.' Cf. vi 50 *quasi honori abeuntis amici tribueret.*

3. **neque...et.** For the antithesis pointed by this construction cf. ii 34 *neque Piso inglorius et Caesar maiore fama fuit.*

4. **huic negatus honor...intendit**, 'the refusal of the distinction enhanced the credit of Dolabella.'

negatus honor. For the construction cf. c. 12, 34, 44.

intendit. Cf. c. 2 *uim praefecturae intendit.*

minore exercitu. He had one legion only, the third, the ninth having been withdrawn. See c. 23.

6. **caedem...famam deportarat.** Note the zeugma.

10. **studiis**, i.e. loyalty to Rome.

repetitus, 'revived.'

12. **togam pictam**, worn in triumphs. Livy (xxx 15) gives a longer list of presents made to a king,—*Masinissam aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli eburnea et scipione eburneo, toga picta, et palmari tunica donat.*

27

1. **mota**, 'scattered.'

2. **oppressit**, a strong word, 'crushed.' The metaphors are mixed.

tumultus, 'rising,' as usual.

5. **libellis**, 'proclamations,' 'placards.'

6. **per longinquos saltus**, 'in distant forest districts,' i.e. in the Appennine country.

ferocia seruitia, 'savage slaves' probably. But possibly *ferox* may here have its strictly classical sense of 'high-spirited.' See note on c. 12.

7. **tres biremes**, i.e. Liburnian galleys, as distinct from

triremes, from the Ravenna Fleet (see c. 5), told off to protect trade in the Adriatic.

adpulere, 'put into harbour,' i.e. at Brundisium. Cf. ii 24 *triremis terram adpulit.*

8. **ad usus commeantium**, 'for the requirements of traders.'

9. **quaestor.** From early times there appear to have been four quaestors with spheres of duty (*prouinciae*) in Italy, chiefly concerned with trade. One of these had the *prouincia Ostiensis* charged with important duties with regard to the corn-supply. Ashby in *Recent Discoveries at Ostia*, *J. R. S.* vol. ii, p. 155, writes:—'It seems probable, as Vaglieri and Carcopino have conjectured independently, that the foundation of Ostia on its present site may be connected with the institution of the four *quaestores classici* in 267 B.C. and the assignment of one of them to Ostia.'

Another had the *prouincia Gallica* (i.e. Cisalpine Gaul). A third was stationed in South Italy; but we do not know the name of his *prouincia.* Lipsius would read *Cales euenerat* here, and thinks that this is the name of this *prouincia.* More probably Brundisium was the station of this quaestor; and, if *calles* is the right reading, Ramsay thinks he may have had charge of 'the rough pasture-land of the interior' as well. Suetonius (*Iulius* 19) speaks of *prouinciae minimi negotii, hoc est siluae callesque.* But this passage has no reference to the *prouinciae* of the quaestors.

10. **classiariorum**, 'marines,' i.e. from the biremes.

11. **coeptantem cum maxime**, 'at the very beginning,' 'just as it was breaking out.' Cf. iii 59 *lacus cum maxime peragrantem* 'traversing at the very time.' The full expression would be *nunc ut cum maxime* [F.]. We have *nunc cum maxime* 'at this moment' in Cicero and Livy, and *tum cum maxime* 'at that moment' in Livy. See Roby 1641.

13. **tribunus**, i.e. an officer of the praetorian guard.

15. **familiarum**, 'households,' often, as here, in the sense of 'slave establishments.' Cf. iii 53 *familiarum numerum et nationes.*

gliscebat immensum, 'was increasing enormously.' Cf. c. 5. For the adverbial *immensum* (really a cognate acc.) cf. iii 30 *domus illa immensum uiguit.*

28

3. **Vibius Serenus.** The father had been banished to the island of Amorgus *ob atrocitatem morum* (c. 13).

in senatum inducti sunt. See Introduction vi.

4. **inluuie ac squalore obsitus.** Cf. vi 43 (where we have *inluuie obsitus* again) and Livy xxix 16 *obsiti squalore et sordibus.*

et tum, 'and now' in our idiom.

5. **oranti filio comparatur**, 'is matched with the oratory of the son.' The metaphor is from matching pairs of gladiators.

6. **multis munditiis**, abl. of manner—'with much elegance' (of dress and manner), in strong antithesis to *inluuie ac squalore.* Cf. iii 30 *per cultum et munditias.*

7. **missos in Galliam concitores belli.** Serenus the elder was governor of Baetica about the time of Sacrovir's rebellion three years previously.

8. **adnectebat**, used absolutely, so also in ii 26.

9. **praetorium**, 'an ex-praetor.'

10. **taedio**, abl. of cause.

14. **ubi...ageret**, 'where he might live far from fashions like these.'

quandoque, 'sooner or later.' Cf. vi 20 *et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium.*

16. **falsa exterritum**, 'that his alarm was groundless,' Greek οὐκ ὄντα ἐκπεπληγμένον. P.F. quotes Cic. *ad Att.* ix 2 *ingrati animi crimen horreo.* Somewhat similar is *arguitur pleraque* (vi 5). See Appendix.

17. **si proderentur alii.** 'Probably *proderentur* is ironical. If the names of others were *divulged*, they would clear themselves and thus discredit the whole charge' [F.].

29

1. **Cn. Lentulum.** See c. 44.

Seium Tuberonem. See ii 20, where he is *legatus* under Germanicus.

2. **magno pudore**, abl. of circumstance.

4. **senectutis extremae...defecto corpore.** Note how fond Tacitus is of linking together dissimilar constructions.

5. **turbandae rei publicae accerserentur**, 'accused of disturbing the commonwealth.'

6. **exempti**, 'released from the charge.'

in patrem ex seruis quaesitum, 'the slaves were examined (by torture) for evidence against the father.'

7. **quaestio.** Cicero (*pro Sulla* 76) uses *quaestiones et tormenta* for 'examination by torture.'

8. **rumore**, 'murmurs.' Cf. xiv 11 *aduerso rumore*, iii 29 *secundo rumore*.

uulgi...minitantium, a sense construction.

robur, i.e. the *Carcer* or *Tullianum* at the foot of the Capitol, in which criminals were strangled. See iii 50 *neque carcer neque laqueus*; Hor. *Odes* ii 13 *catenas et Italum robur*; Lucr. iii 1017 *uerbera carnifices robur*; Livy xxxviii 59 *in robore et tenebris exspiret*; and the description in Sallust *Cat.* 55. The following explanation of the term is quoted from Paullus: *robus in carcere dicitur is locus, quo praecipitatur maleficorum genus, quod ante arcis robusteis includebatur.*

9. **saxum**, the Tarpeian rock, on the west side of the Capitol. Cf. ii 32 *saxo deiectus.* The full expression *saxum Tarpeium* is given in vi 19.

parricidarum poenas. A good *locus classicus* on this subject is Cicero *pro Rosc. Amer.* 70–73. Cf. Digest 48–9, *parricida uirgis sanguineis uerberatus, deinde culleo insuatur cum cane, gallo gallinaceo et uipera et simia. deinde in mare profundum culleus iactetur.* If there is no sea near, then, according to Hadrian's ordinance, he is to be thrown to wild beasts. Note that *parricidium* includes the murder of any near relation. Nero is the arch-parricide in Roman literature. He deserved not once, but many times to die the parricide's death, as Juvenal says (viii 213, 4):

cuius supplicio non debuit una parari
simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus.

A bag was hung round the neck of one of Nero's statues with the inscription: *ego quid potui? sed tu culleum meruisti* (Suet.).

Seneca *de Clementia* 23 (addressed to Nero!) writes: *pessimo loco pietas fuit, postquam saepius culleos uidimus quam cruces* [Mayor]; who (on Juvenal *l.c.*) adds these particulars from other writers: 'Sewn up in a sack with impious animals, the impious man is carried down to the sea on a wagon drawn by black oxen. Excluded from the air of heaven and from burial in earth, the criminal is shut up, like with like, with the parricide viper, the ape that squeezes its young to death, and impious creatures that fight with their parents.'

10. **exsequi accusationem adigitur**, a poetical and Tacitean use. Cf. c. 45.

13. **exprobrauerat**, 'had thrown in his teeth.'

17. **medium tempus uarie arguens**, 'bringing various charges with regard to the interval.'

18. **etiam si tormenta...euenissent**, 'even though, owing to the obstinacy of the slaves, the examination by torture disproved his guilt.'

30

1. **dictis sententiis**, i.e. in the Senate.

2. **more maiorum**, i.e. by scourging to death. Cf. ii 32 *more prisco aduertere.*

quo molliret inuidiam, 'in order to mitigate the odium.'

intercessit. The Emperor had the power of veto by virtue of his *potestas tribunicia.* See Introduction v.

3. **Gyaro**, one of the Cyclades, a common place of exile.

Donusa, a small island near Naxos, either the modern Stenosa or Heraclia.

4. **aspernatus est**, 'rejected.'

5. **uitae usus**, 'means of living,' 'necessaries of life.'

8. **de praemiis accusatorum abolendis.** See c. 20, and Introduction vi.

maiestatis postulatus. Cf. c. 31.

10. **ibatur in eam sententiam**, 'the motion was being carried,' i.e. 'on the point of being carried.'

11. **contra...palam**, 'with unusual openness.'

12. **inritas leges**, sc. *fore.*

in praecipiti, 'on the brink of a precipice.'

14. **custodes eorum**, a high compliment to a wretched class.

delatores. See Introduction vi.

genus...repertum, 'a tribe of miscreants called into being to the public ruin' [R.].

publico exitio, abl. of circumstance.

16. **eliciebantur**, 'were stimulated.'

31

1. **his tam adsiduis...intericitur**, 'this succession of gloomy events was broken by a ray of pleasure.'

3. **carminis conuictum.** Cf. c. 30 *maiestatis postulatus.*

5. **gnarum meliorum et quae fama...sequeretur.** Mark the thoroughly Tacitean change of structure.

6. **tristiora**, 'a harsher policy.'

7. **neque socordia peccabat.** The abl. is causal,—'he did not err from dulness.'

8. **adumbrata**, 'fictitious.'

9. **compositus alias**, 'at other times artificial,' i.e. in look and address. See note on c. 1. Cf. also Thuc. vi 58 *πλασάμενος τῇ ὄψει πρὸς τὴν ξυμφοράν.*

10. **uelut eluctantium uerborum**, a curious gen. of quality,—'with words seeming to struggle for utterance.'

solutius promptiusque, 'with greater ease and fluency.' Cf. xiv 18 *dicta solutiora.*

11. **quotiens subueniret**, 'whenever he stepped in to help.' The subjunctive of frequency occurs often in Silver Latin, sometimes in Livy, hardly ever in Caesar or Cicero. Cf. c. 60 and 70.

12. **cum arceretur.** Mark the tense,—'when it was proposed to banish him from Italy.' Cf. c. 20.

13. **conuictus cepisse.** For the 'nom. and infin.' see c. 22.

pecuniam...cepisse, the ordinary expression for receiving a bribe.

ob rem iudicandam, 'to influence a judicial decision,'—technical term used also in Cicero.

15. **iure iurando.** For the custom of voting on oath cf. c. 21.

obstringeret, 'bound himself.' Cf. i 14 *iure iurando obstrinxit.*

e re publica id esse. See Pliny *Epist.* v 13, whence it appears that one senator could make another swear *e re publica esse quod censuisset.*

16. **aspere**, 'with indignation.'

mox in laudem uertit, 'subsequently redounded to his credit.'

20. **eadem poena...statuitur tamquam petiuisset.** For the force of *tamquam* 'on the ground that,' see c. 13.

22. **ut rettuli.** Cf. ii 27.

23. **indicio**, 'by turning informer' or 'king's evidence' as we say.

25. **senatu pelleretur.** See Introduction vi.

32

1. **pleraque**, 'much,' not 'most.'

2. **leuia memoratu.** Our idiom is 'too trifling to be recorded.' Cf. *Hist.* ii 73 *uix credibile memoratu.*

3. **annales nostros.** See iii 65.

4. **contenderit**, 'can compare.' Cf. xiii 3 *uetera ac praesentia contendere.* Cicero too uses the word in this sense. For the syntax cf. c. 3 *crediderim.*

6. **si quando...praeuerterent**, 'whenever they turned by preference to home affairs.' The deponent is more usual in this sense. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* i 3, 38 *illuc praeuertamur* [P.F.].

9. **libero egressu**, 'with free scope,' i.e. ranging at large over a theme of stirring events and making ample room for stylistic art [N.]. The meaning seems fixed by *in arto* which follows [P.F.].

10. **nobis in arto et inglorius labor**, 'my work lies in a narrow field and lacks distinction,'—one of Tacitus's many echoes of Virgil. Cf. *Georgic* iv 6 *in tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria.* In *Hist.* iii 13 he has *in arto commeatum.*

12. **proferendi imperi incuriosus**, 'without interest in the expansion of the empire' [R.].

non sine usu fuerit, 'it may serve some good purpose.' Cf. c. 5 *incertum fuerit.*

14. **magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur**, 'great events often take their rise.' Cf. Aristotle's famous words, *γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν* (*Politics* v 4. 1); also Livy xxvii 9 *ex paruis rebus saepe magnarum momenta pendent.*

Ramsay has some useful remarks on this chapter:—'Tacitus does not appeal here to a high conception of history. He takes the popular view that it reaches its highest interest in telling of wars and conquests. Even the interest of such subjects as the conflict between the Orders, and the battles over Agrarian and other laws, does not consist in the fact that they raise great constitutional questions, but that they give scope for picturesque and stirring narrative. His own task is inglorious, because he has no wars to tell of; and the climax in its dulness is that Tiberius was what we should now call a Little Englander.'

33

1. **nationes**, here 'countries.' In the best Latin *natio* generally denotes 'tribe,' and it is very often used contemptuously in metaphor.

2. **delecta ex iis...forma**, 'a constitution framed by selection from these three elements.' Cf. Cic. *de Rep.* i 45 *ex his quae prima dixi moderatum et permixtum tribus*; and 54 *recte quaeris quod maxime e tribus, quoniam eorum nullum ipsum per se separatum probo, anteponoque singulis illud quod conflatum fuerit ex omnibus.* Cicero considers such a constitution to be the best possible. Cf. also Polybius (vi 11) who holds that the Roman constitution of his time is the best realisation of this ideal.

6. **noscenda uulgi natura**, sc. *erat.*

quibus modis. Before these words we must supply *noscendum.*

temperanter haberetur, 'might be wisely controlled.' Tacitus makes but a poor contribution to political philosophy. His one idea is that we must study the nature and doings of the dominant power in a state.

8. **callidi temporum**, lit. 'cunning in the times,' i.e. 'shrewd observers.' The gen. is on the analogy of that with *peritus.*

9. **neque alia...unus imperitet**, 'the Roman state being

nothing else than a monarchy,'—though it was not so in form. Formally things went on *tamquam uetere re publica* (i 7),—the names of the old magistrates being preserved. Cf. c. 20 *quasi Varro consul aut illud res publica esset.*

10. **haec conquiri tradique**, referring to the first words of c. 32. He attaches the chief importance to insignificant doings of Emperor and Senate, especially the record of prosecutions. He cares nothing for the grand operations of imperial government.

in rem fuerit, 'may prove useful.' Cf. c. 5 *incertum fuerit*; c. 32 *non sine usu fuerit.*

11. **prudentia**, 'by their own wisdom.'

13. **aliorum euentis docentur.** *euenta* means 'experiences.' Cicero has *euenta nostra* in *ad fam.* i 7. 'The idea seems to be that it is the business of the historian to select proper instances as examples or as warnings....He has so to marshal his facts that his readers may draw the proper conclusions from them' [R.].

ceterum...adferunt, 'however, such enquiries, although sure to be profitable, yet bring very little entertainment.' This is the force of *ut...ita*....For the thought cf. Thuc. i 22 *καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται.*

14. **uarietates**, 'vicissitudes.'

15. **exitus**, 'deaths,' as often in Tacitus.

16. **continuas accusationes**, 'an unbroken record of prosecutions.'

18. **coniungimus**, 'we string together.'

easdem exitu...satietate, 'trials all ending in one way, with a uniformity as monotonous as it is revolting' [R.].

22. **Tiberio regente.** *rego* is rarely used of an Emperor.

23. **ut**, 'though.' Cf. c. 40.

25. **aliena...sibi obiectari**, 'that the record of the misdeeds of others is aimed at themselves.'

26. **ut nimis...arguens**, 'as criticising from too close a point of view the opposite qualities' [F.]. 'How admirable is Tacitus when he sums up in a perfect phrase some painful human characteristic!' [R.].

27. **ad inceptum redeo.** We should say, 'I must return to my subject.' Cf. xv 36 *deseruit inceptum.*

34

2. **postulatur.** Cf. c. 30 *maiestatis postulatus.*

tunc primum, 'now for the first time.' Afterwards Domitian encouraged similar prosecutions.

3. **editis annalibus.** As Seneca tells us, Cordus wrote the history of his own time only,—*unius saeculi facta.* Probably it was limited to the reign of Augustus.

4 **Romanorum ultimum.** No doubt Cordus would have quoted the words of Brutus himself on the death of Cassius.

6. **id perniciabile et Caesar...accipiens,** 'this was fatal to the accused, as well as the fact that the Emperor listened to the defence with a forbidding look.' For the construction cf. c. 12, 26, 44.

7. **relinquendae uitae certus,** 'resolved to die.' Cf. xii 66 *sceleris olim certa*; Virg. *Aen.* iv 54 *iam certus eundi.* Contrast c. 57 *certus procul urbe degere.*

14. **eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus.** *fides* means 'candour,' 'impartiality.' Seneca calls Livy *candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator.* For the genitive construction cf. c. 21.

16. **Pompeianum.** Cf. i 10 *Pompeianae partes* and contrast i 2 *Iulianae partes. Pompeianus* denotes a champion of the legitimate republic, and an enemy of imperialism.

17. **Scipionem.** He is referring to Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey and his colleague as consul in 52 B.C.

18. **Afranium,** consul in 60 B.C. and *legatus* of Pompey in Spain.

19. **parricidas.** Cf. Val. Max. vi 4, 5 *M. Brutus suarum prius uirtutum quam patriae parentis parricida.*

20. **ut insignes uiros,** 'as one would speak of distinguished men.'

Asinii Pollionis scripta, i.e. his history in 17 books beginning with 60 B.C., alluded to by Horace, *motum ex Metello consule ciuicum* (*Odes* ii 1). Cf. also Virg. *Ecl.* iii 84.

22. **Messalla Coruinus,** the orator, wrote the history of the wars after the death of Julius Caesar. He fought under Brutus at Philippi.

24. **peruiguere**, 'flourished to the end.' The word occurs nowhere else. Cf. c. 1 *uiguit ceciditque.*

Ciceronis libro, called *Cato*, not extant; answered by Caesar in two books called *Anticato.*

25. **dictator Caesar**, a frequent description of Julius Caesar in Tacitus.

quid aliud quam...respondit? For the ellipse N. compares xiii 40 *nec amplius quam decurio audentius progressus ceteros ad obsequium firmauerat*; Suet. *Claudius* 16 *nihil amplius quam monuit.*

27. **Antonii epistulae.** Suetonius quotes from them in his life of Augustus.

29. **carmina Bibaculi.** He was M. Furius Bibaculus of Cremona, a contemporary of Catullus. His poems were noted for their rancour and turgidity.

referta contumeliis Caesarum. See Suet. *Iulius* 73 *Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi uersiculis...perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulauerat, satisfacientem eadem die adhibuit caenae; hospitioque patris eius, sicut consueuerat, uti perseuerauit.* For Catullus' attacks see especially poem xxix, e.g. 24, 25

eone nomine, imperator unice,
socer generque perdidistis omnia?

also liv *irascere iterum meis iambis*
immerentibus, unice imperator?

also xcii *nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi uelle placere*
nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.

30. **Caesarum**, i.e. Julius and Augustus. Catullus, of course, attacked Julius only. Bibaculus may have libelled Augustus also.

31. **reliquere**, 'left them alone.'

haud facile dixerim. Cf. c. 10 *non omiserim.*

33. **si irascare.** For the general use of the second person cf. c. 11 *refutaueris.*

adgnita, 'recognised as true.'

35

1. **non attingo**, 'I do not mention.'

2. **etiam.** For the omission of *sed* cf. i 77 *non modo e plebe, etiam militibus.*

aduertit, for *animaduertit*,—'noticed,' 'punished.' Cf. ii 32 *more prisco aduertere*.

3. **dicta**, in its ordinary sense of 'jokes,' 'satire.'

solutum, 'free from punishment.'

4. **prodere**, 'to speak freely.'

5. **num enim...incendo**, 'am I, forsooth, in arms with Cassius and Brutus on the plains of Philippi, or inflaming the people to civil war by my harangues?' [R.].

6. **obtinentibus**. This verb is here used in its strictly classical sense of 'hold.'

7. **an illi quidem...perempti**. We must begin the translation of this sentence thus: 'is it not the case that, though slain more than seventy years ago...?' Cf. Cic. *de leg.* ii 2 *numquid duas habetis patrias, an est una illa patria communis?*

8. **septuagensimum**, round number for sixty-sixth.

9. **noscuntur**, 'are recognised,'—a Virgilian use.

ne uictor quidem aboleuit. A bronze statue of Brutus at Milan was preserved by order of Augustus.

12. **nec deerunt qui...**, a frequent form of expression in Tacitus.

ingruit, 'presses on me,' 'hangs before me.'

16. **occultati**, 'concealed for a time and then published.' This was done by his daughter Marcia, as Seneca tells us in the *Consolatio ad Marciam*.

19. **punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas**, 'the punishment of genius heightens its influence.' Cf. c. 5.

36

1. **postulandis reis continuus**, lit. 'unbroken in prosecutions,'—abl. of respect. Cf. xi 5 *continuus et saeuus accusandis reis*.

praefectum urbis, an honorary office (merely a survival) held during the absence of the consuls at the Latin Festival. It had no connexion with the Prefecture of the City established by Augustus.

3. **auspicandi**. It was usual for a magistrate on the first day of office to discharge some function of the post he held by

way of inaugurating it. Some trifling matter was generally selected for this purpose [P.F.].

4. **adierit...in Sextum Marium**, 'approached him with an accusation against Sextus Marius.' For the syntax of *adierit* cf. c. 1, 15, 20.

5. **palam increpitum**, i.e. because the introduction of a criminal charge on this religious occasion was a bad omen.

causa exilii fuit, 'prompted a decree of the Senate to banish him' [F.].

6. **obiecta publice Cyzicenis**, 'was preferred against the people of Cyzicus as a community,' i.e. *τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν*. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 37 *Cyzicenis publice libertatem ademit.*

incuria caerimoniarum. They had failed to complete the temple of Augustus which they had begun.

9. **circumsessi**, 74, 73 B.C.

10. **sua constantia**. The reflexive pronoun is used, because mentally the Cyziceni are regarded as still the subject of the whole sentence, although grammatically they have ceased to be so [P.F.].

11. **Fonteius Capito**, consul in 12 A.D. with Germanicus.

12. **ficta**, sc. *esse*.

13. **Vibium Serenum**, i.e. the son. See c. 28.

15. **ut quis destrictior...sacrosanctus erat**, 'the more menacing informers were, in a way, inviolable.'

destrictior, 'keener,' 'more ready to strike.' The metaphor is from a drawn sword. Cf. Horace *Odes* iii 1 *destrictus ensis*; also Pliny, *Epist.* ix 21 *destricte minatus*. Valerius Max. is fond of the word, e.g. *destricta censura* (ii 9), *reum destricto testimonio insecutus est* (v 2).

sacrosanctus, strictly two words,—'consecrated with a curse,' i.e. inviolable, especially of the persons of the Tribunes.

37

1. **Hispania ulterior**. See c. 13. This request from Spain was probably in gratitude for the condemnation of the elder Serenus.

2. **exemplo Asiae**. See c. 15.

3. **qua occasione**, causal abl.,—'taking this opportunity.'

4. **ualidus...spernendis honoribus**, 'strong in his contempt for honours.' Cf. *postulandis reis continuus* (last chapter).

alioqui, 'besides,' 'generally.' Cf. *Hist.* iii 32 *ditem alioqui coloniam maiore opum specie complebat.*

6. **in ambitionem flexisse**, 'that he had vain-glorious leanings.'

7. **constantiam...desideratam**, 'that many missed my usual firmness.'

11. **sibi atque urbi Romae**. P.F. quotes from an inscription, *Romae et Augusto Caesari.*

12. **templum apud Pergamum**. See c. 55.

13. **qui...obseruem**, 'I who keep as a law to myself....' Strabo (vi 4) tells us that Tiberius made Augustus his standard (*κανών*) of government.

14. **placitum**, 'thus approved.'

16. **ut semel...habuerit**,—'though to have accepted this honour once may be excused.'

19. **si promiscis.. uulgatur**, 'if it is vulgarised by indiscriminate flatteries.' For *promiscus* see c. 16.

38

This chapter gives us a very fine example of Latin Rhetoric. 'If this speech or anything like it was indeed delivered by Tiberius, it must rank as one of the noblest and most dignified utterances ever made by a great sovereign' [R.].

2. **officia fungi**. Cf. iii 2 *munia fungerentur*. This construction is frequent in the comic poets. 'In these two places it is perhaps preserved as an archaic purism of Tiberius' [F.].

5. **ut...credant**, 'supposing that they believe.'

6. **offensionum...non pauidum**, 'not fearful of animosities.' Cf. *Hist.* v 14 *nandi pauidus.*

10. **pro sepulcris spernuntur**, i.e. have no more sanctity than neglected tombs. They are not shrines of the immortal. Cf. Ovid *heroides* iii 98 *at mea pro nullo pondere uerba cadunt.*

12. **intellegentem...iuris**, 'with clear vision of the rights of gods and men.'

13. **duint**, an archaism suitable to the language of prayer.

quandoque concessero, 'whenever I pass away.'

15. **perstitit aspernari**, 'persisted in rejecting,'—a construction found also in Cic. *de fin.* ii 107.

17. **quod alii...interpretabantur**, 'some explained this as modesty, many as due to self-distrust, some as the sign of a poor spirit.' The changes of construction are thoroughly Tacitean. Cf. c. 29.

19. **Herculem...Liberum...Quirinum...Augustum.** The allusions are taken almost literally from Horace, *Odes* iii 3. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 71 where we are told that Augustus wrote to Tiberius, *benignitas mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferet.*

21. **melius**, sc. *egisse*. Cf. i 43 *melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat.*

22. **cetera principibus statim adesse**, 'all else Emperors have as a matter of course,' i.e. on assuming the principate.

23. **contemptu**, sociative,—'with contempt of fame comes contempt of merit.'

39

1. **nimia fortuna socors**, 'dazed by excessive prosperity.'

2. **promissum matrimonium.** See c. 3.

4. **moris tum erat.** *moris* is possessive gen.

praesentem, i.e. in Rome.

5. **eius**, *scripti* understood, which takes the place of *codicillorum.*

6. **iudiciis**, 'favourable opinions,' 'marks of favour.' Cf. *Hist.* i 15 *iudicii mei documentum.*

11. **quod pulcherrimum...crederetur**, 'he had attained the fairest prize of all,—to be thought worthy of alliance with the Emperor.' Cf. iii 29 *filio Claudii socer Seianus destinaretur.*

13. **quoniam audiuerit**. Cicero or Caesar would have written *audiuisset.*

14. **ita**, i.e. following the example of Augustus.

15. **haberet...usurum**, 'let him think of a friend who would gain nothing but glory from the alliance,'—i.e. Sejanus would seek no political advancement. He was content with the command of the Praetorians. He had no wish to give it up and become a Senator. Cf. *equitibus Romanis* (above).

17. **exuere**, *se* understood. *exuo* is a favourite metaphor with Tacitus. Cf. c. 21.

satis aestimare. 'This is not the same thing as *satis existimare*; at least, I can find no undoubted instance of the use of *aestimare* in the sense of 'thinking.' Tacitus always, I think, uses the word in the sense of 'valuing,' 'rating,' 'appraising'.... The sense here therefore is that Sejanus valued at its full worth the security obtained for his family by the proposed arrangement. He gave the proper value to it, and, so to say, did not want more for his money' [P.F.]. He refers to these and other passages: *Agric.* 40 *magnos uiros per ambitionem aestimare*; *Germ.* 6 *in uniuersum aestimanti*; xii 42 *an grauius aestimandum?*

19. **multum superque**, the only instance of this expression. *satis superque* (c. 38) is a common phrase.

20. **quod...expleuisset**, 'completed while such an Emperor still reigned.'

40

1. **ad ea**, 'in answer to this.'

3. **tamquam ad integram consultationem**, 'as though it was still an open question.' *integer* often has the sense of 'open,' 'unprejudiced.' Cf. iii 8 *integrum iudicium*; iii 12 *integris animis*. So in Cicero's Letters 'I have not committed myself' is expressed several times in slightly varying phrase: *omnia sunt integra—in integro res nobis est—mihi integrum est facere aut non facere*. Cf. *ad Att.* ix 2 *ii quibus integrum est, qui nondum ad honores accesserunt.*

adiunxit, i.e. in a second letter.

4. **in eo stare consilia**, 'their deliberations depended on the question...'.

6. **praecipua rerum**, 'important business.' See c. 5.

ad famam dirigenda, 'must be guided with a view to public opinion.' Cf. Tac. *de or.* 5 *ad utilitatem dirigenda.*

7. **promptum rescriptu**, 'the obvious answer.' Cf. *Hist.* ii 76 *promptum effectu.*

8. **nubendum...tolerandum haberet**, 'whether she should marry again, now that Drusus was gone, or live on in the same home.' Cf. xiv 44 *si nunc primum statuendum haberemus.*

9. **esse illi...consilia**, 'Livia had a mother and grandmother—Antonia and Augusta—more intimate counsellors than himself.'

10. **consilia**, *res pro persona*. Cf. c. 6 *seruitia*.

simplicius acturum, 'he would use greater frankness. First then, there was the hostility of Agrippina to be considered. The marriage of Livia would but add fresh fuel to that hostility; it would, so to say, rend in two the family of the Caesars.'

13. **sic quoque**, 'even as it was.'

15. **conuelli**, 'were being torn asunder.'

quid si...coniugio, 'what would happen if the rivalry were aggravated by the proposed marriage?' For this sense of *intendatur* see c. 2.

16. **falleris enim**. Tacitus likes the sudden change into *or. recta*.

17. **in eodem ordine**, i.e. the Order of Knights.

19. **ego ut sinam**, 'though I were to permit it....'

20. **fratrem ..patrem...maiores**, i.e. Germanicus, the elder Drusus, and the Claudii and Drusi of old days.

21. **quidem...sed**, μὲν...δέ. Translate: 'though...yet....'

22. **sistere**, poetical for *stare*.

23. **te inuitum perrumpunt**, 'break in upon you against your will.' Cf. c. 67 *quietem inrumpere*.

24. **excessisse...non occulti ferunt**, 'openly allege that you have long ago soared above a knight's position.'

25. **fastigium**, often used of imperial power, a metaphor derived from the meaning of 'gable-end,' 'pediment.' Cf. xiii 17 *familia summum ad fastigium genita*.

patris mei amicitias, alluding to Augustus' friends of equestrian rank, Maecenas, Proculeius, etc.

26. **per inuidiam tui**, 'out of ill-will to you.'

27. **at enim**, ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία, anticipating an objection. See c. 39 *Augustum de equitibus Romanis consultauisse*.

29. **immensum**. See c. 27.

31. **C. Proculeium**. See Horace *Odes* ii 2 *uiuet extento Proculeius aeuo notus in fratres animi paterni*.

quosdam, i.e. 'others.'

34. **quanto ualidius...conlocauit?** 'how much more weighty is the fact that he gave his daughter first to Marcus Agrippa, and then to me?' [R.], i.e. his ultimate decision is far more important than his previous thought [F.].

37. **destinatis**, 'purposes.'

38. **quibus adhuc.. parem**, 'by what further ties I purpose to unite you to myself.'

42. **in contione**, i.e. by an edict.

41

2. **altius metuens.** Cf. xvi 29 *altior pauor.*

tacita suspicionum. See c. 5.

3. **ingruentem inuidiam**, 'the gathering odium.' Cf. c. 35.

deprecatur, 'beseeches him to disregard.'

4. **adsiduos in domum**, i.e. the stream of visitors pouring into his house. Cf. xiv 56 *prohibet coetus salutantium.*

5. **receptando.** Tacitus is very fond of frequentatives. He uses *despecto*, *aduecto*, *appellito*, *emptito*, *mansito*, *queritor*, *recurso*, *redempto* [P.F.].

7. **amoenis**, 'pleasant' generally (not pleasant to the eye,—the strictly correct use of this adjective). Cf. xiii 3 *ingenium amoenum* (of Seneca's literary gifts).

8. **aditus**, 'audiences' by the Emperor.

litterarum...arbitrum fore, 'he would have the control of dispatches.'

10. **commearent**, 'were coming and going,' i.e. 'were conveyed.' Subject *litterae.* Cf. ii 28 *sermones commeare.*

11. **secreto loci.** Cf. *Hist.* i 10 *secretum Asiae.* It is originally a Virgilian use, e.g. *Georg.* iv 403.

13. **sublatis inanibus**, 'by the sacrifice of its empty show.' Cf. xiii 8 *specie inanium ualidus* 'strong in the show of qualities really valueless.' With *ueram potentiam* cf. c. 4.

16. **abesse...agitari.** The correct *oratio obliqua* here would be *abessent...agitarentur.*

17. **praecipua rerum.** Cf. c. 40.

42

2. **celebris ingenii.** He was a well-known orator.

cognitio, 'investigation,' 'trial.'

cunctantem iam, 'already hesitating,' i.e. he was already considering the matter.

4. **coetus uocesque,** hendiadys,—'meetings where remarks were made.'

quae...ingerebantur, 'which often offensive as well as true were flung in his face.'

5. **postulato.** The verb *postulo* as a legal term refers strictly to the preliminary procedings,—the *ἀνάκρισις* of Attic law—as distinguished from *cognitio* (the actual trial) used twice in this chapter. Cf. c. 21.

7. **cuncta refert,** 'repeats every detail.'

8. **inter obstrepentes...nititur,** 'amid angry clamour struggles on with strong assertion.'

adseueratione. Cf. c. 19.

9. **per occultum,** 'behind his back.' For the modal use of *per* cf. the frequent phrases *per ludum, per otium, per uinum.*

11. **purgaturum.** We must supply *probra.* Cf. iii 13 *si recentia purgaret.*

15. **inclementiam...amplexus,** 'clinging with all the more determination to the harshness....'

16. **adulterii delatam,** 'accused by informers of an intrigue.' The gen. with *defero* is Tacitean.

quamquam...damnasset. Cf. c. 4 *quamquam sit.* We have the correct syntax in this chapter, *quamquam nititur.*

19. **in acta...non iurauerat.** According to Dio Cassius, Tiberius enforced an annual repetition of the oath to respect the acts of Augustus [P.F.].

albo senatorio erasit. This register was first posted up by Augustus in 9 B.C.

43

1. **auditae,** i.e. by the Senate.

2. **de iure templi,** 'about their claims to the temple.'

Limnatidis, 'of the Marshes.' The temple took its name

from the place called Λίμναι on the confines of Laconia and Messenia. The site of the temple is on the western slope of Mount Taÿgetus.

4. **firmabant...carminibus**, 'asserted on the authority of historical records and the hymns of poets.'

5. **Macedonis Philippi**, referring to his invasion of the Peloponnese after Chaeronea.

6. **C. Caesaris**, i.e. *Iulii.*

8. **Herculis posteros**, i.e. Temenus, Cresphontes, and the sons of Aristodemus.

9. **Denthaliatem agrum**, on the bank of the river Nedon, opposite to Limnae.

10. **cessisse.** Supply *dicebant* out of *protulere.*

12. **plures...locupletiores esse**, 'they had authorities more numerous and more trustworthy.' Cicero often uses *locuples* in this sense, e.g. *de off.* iii 2 *testis locuples Posidonius.*

14. **Antigoni.** Antigonus, king of Macedon, played a leading part in the war of Cleomenes, and occupied Sparta after the battle of Sellasia in 222 B.C.

15. **Mummii**, in his arrangement of the affairs of Achaia in 146 B.C.

Milesios permisso publice arbitrio. 'This reference to a public arbitration entrusted to the city of Miletus has been most happily confirmed by the discovery of an inscription on the base of the famous statue of Victory by Paeonius at Olympia, which records the whole transaction. The case was decided by a body of 600 jurors, who voted in favour of the Messenian claim by a majority of 586 to 14.' [R., after Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions*, No. 200.]

16. **praetorem**, 'governor.'

17. **ita...datum**, 'accordingly judgment was given in favour of the Messenians.'

18. **montem apud Erycum**, 'on Mount Eryx,' as it is usually called, near Drepanum, on the extreme western point of Sicily. Cf. Virgil *Aen.* v 759:

> *tum uicina astris Erycino in uertice sedes*
> *fundatur Veneri Idaliae.*

The Segestans, in whose territory it stood, claimed a Trojan origin. Hence Tiberius calls himself *consanguineus*. Cf. also Thuc. vi 46 οἱ δὲ Ἐγεσταῖοι ἐς τὸ ἐν Ἔρυκι ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέδειξαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, and Strabo xiv 2 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀναδυομένη Ἀφροδίτη, ἣ νῦν ἀνακεῖται τῷ θεῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

21. **suscepit curam**, 'undertook the work,' i.e. of restoration.

22. **preces**, 'a petition' with regard to the will of Vulcatius Moschus (mentioned below).

probatum...exemplum, 'the precedent of Rutilius was allowed.' See iii 66.

23. **legibus pulsum**, 'banished according to law,' i.e. by a judicial decision.

24. **quo iure...receptus**, 'with the same privilege admitted a citizen of Marseilles.'

26. **ut patriae**, 'as being now his native country.'

44

1. **Cn. Lentulus.** See c. 29.

2. **L. Domitius**, belonging to the third generation of the distinguished family of Domitii Ahenobarbi.

super, 'over and above.'

3. **de Getis**. The same people were known as Getae and Daci. In the reign of Augustus there were several small wars against them on the Danube. Their king was Cotiso. Cf. Hor. *Odes* iii 8 *occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen.*

bene tolerata paupertas. For the syntax of these and the following words cf. c. 12, 26, 34.

5. **Domitium...maris potens**, 'Domitius derived lustre from a father who was master of the sea.'

7. **auus**, consul 54 B.C., a very energetic opponent of Caesar.

8. **minor Antonia**, a mistake. Tacitus should have written *maior* here and in xii 64.

10. **Albim transcendit**, 'crossed the Elbe.' This must be the upper Elbe in Bohemia.

quam quisquam priorum. Supply *penetrauerat*. N. quotes Cic. *ad Att.* ix 11 *eandem me salutem a te accepisse putaui quam ille.*

15. **seposuit Augustus.** This verb is often used by Tacitus of a mild type of exile. Merivale writes (c. 45): 'The treatment of exiles seems generally to have been sufficiently mild. They were allowed to a great extent the choice of locality; and when Augustus forbade them to settle at any spot within 50 miles of the continent, he excepted the pleasant retreats of Cos, Rhodes, and Lesbos. He also confined them to a single ship of 1000 amphorae and two pinnaces for the voyage and conveyance of their families, which further were limited to 20 slaves or freedmen.'

16. **specie studiorum.** Marseilles was a noted home of Greek culture. Agricola studied there. Cf. Strabo iv 1, 5 (writing of Augustus) ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους Ῥωμαίων πέπεικεν ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημίας ἐκεῖσε φοιτᾶν φιλομαθεῖς ὄντας.

17. **habitus supremis honor,** 'honour was paid to his remains.'

45

1. **citeriore Hispania,** i.e. Hispania Tarraconensis.

2. **nationis,** 'tribe,' the ordinary meaning of the word. See note on c. 33.

3. **praetorem,** 'governor,' often as here in a general sense. His proper title would be *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.

pace incuriosum, 'travelling carelessly in time of peace.'

5. **in mortem adfecit.** See c. 62.

6. **saltuosos,** 'hilly.' Cf. c. 25, 27.

dimisso equo, 'having turned his horse loose.'

10. **edere adigeretur.** For the construction cf. c. 29.

14. **postero,** sc. *die*. Cf. c. 73 *in posterum*.

16. **caesus habetur.** *habeor* is seldom used with inf. or part. in this sense. N. quotes xv 15 *Bosporum inuasurus habebatur*.

17. **e publico,** i.e. *Termestinorum*,—frauds of its citizens or magistrates on their own community [F.].

46

1. **Lentulo.** Cf. c. 42.

2. **Poppaeo Sabino,** governor of important provinces for 24 years, and grandfather of Nero's wife Poppaea.

contusis, 'crushed.' Cf. xii 31 *proeliis contusi*.

3. **montium editis.** See c. 51. And for the syntax cf. c. 41 *tacita suspicionum.*

incultu, 'without refinement.' Cf. *iniussu*; and Sallust *Iug.* 19 *incultius agitare.* See also Roby 1239.

6. **militiae nostrae dare**, i.e. to the auxiliary forces. 'This passage shows that the dependent kingdoms had to furnish troops to the Roman armies, but that the obligation had been hitherto enforced in a modified form' [F.].

10. **disiecti**, 'broken up.' The auxiliaries might be called on to serve in any part of the empire.

12. **misere legatos...memoraturos**, 'sent envoys to call to mind.'

15. **inuentutem**, 'warriors.'

promptum libertati aut ad mortem. For the juxtaposition of dissimilar constructions cf. ii 6 *accipiendis copiis et transmittendum ad bellum opportuna.*

18. **impeditum**, lit. 'entangled,' 'involved,' i.e. 'dangerous.'

47

1. **donec...conduceret**, 'to give himself time to concentrate....'

3. **Labeo**, governor of Moesia for eight years after his praetorship.

cum legione, 'with a legion.' We learn from c. 5 that Moesia had two legions.

rex Rhoemetalces. See c. 5.

4. **popularium**, 'of his own people.'

5. **praesenti copia**, 'the force on the spot,' i.e. in the province of Macedonia.

6. **per angustias saltuum**, 'in narrow mountain passes.' Cf. Caes. *B. C.* i 37 *Pyrenaeos saltus occupari iubet*; Liv. xlii 53 *saltu angusto superatis montibus*; xxviii 1 *angustiae saltibus crebris inclusae*; xxxvi 15 *saltus Thermopylarum.*

7. **audentius...uisebantur**, 'some with greater boldness showed themselves.'

8. **sanguine...modico.** Cf. *Hist.* iii 16 *modica caede.*

9. **suffugia**, 'places of retreat.'

10. **in loco**, 'where he was,' *κατὰ χώραν*.

11. **angustum...continuum**, 'a narrow summit extending in an unbroken ridge' [F.]. Cf. Horace's *continui montes* (1 *Epist*. xvi 5).

12. **uis armata aut incondita.** F. points out that an intelligible contrast can be drawn between forces organised after their own fashion and a mere rabble, who could only throw stones, etc.

13. **ferocissimos**, 'the most high-spirited.' Cf. c. 12.

16. **dum eminus grassabantur**, 'as long as they moved at a distance.' The verb *grassor* is often used, as here, of threatening motion. Cf. c. 66.

18. **recepti**, 'enabled to fall back.' Cf. c. 43.

Sugambrae cohortis. The Sugambri were a tribe on the Sieg opposite Cologne. They were conquered by Tiberius in 8 B.C., and transplanted to the west bank of the Rhine. The Romans found them excellent soldiers. 'As in other mixed empires it would be a part of Roman policy to garrison one country with troops raised in another' [R.]. N. refers to inscriptions, one of which shows that a Sugambrian cohort was stationed in Moesia as late as 134 A.D.

48

1. **hostem propter**, 'near the enemy.' For the *anastrophe* cf. *lucem infra* (below), and c. 50 *Tarsam inter et Turesim*.

2. **munimenta**, i.e. the camp mentioned in c. 47.

Thraecibus, i.e. Rhoemetalces and his men.

3. **memoraui**, in c. 47.

4. **trahere praedas**, 'to plunder.'

dum populatio...capesserent, 'provided that their ravaging should be limited to daylight, and that they should keep careful watch over the camp through the night.'

7. **raptis...stationes**, 'enriched by plunder they neglected their outposts.'

lasciuia...somno...uino, abl. of manner.

9. **altero...alii.** Frost can find no other instance of this sequence. He supposes that the second band (*alii*) is regarded simply as different from the first (*altero*), without taking into account that there were but two bands in all.

10. **adpugnarent**, a Tacitean word, used of a feint, as here.

11. **clamore, telis**, abl. of cause, with *non acciperet* [N.].

12. **suo periculo**, dat. depending on *intentus*.

16. **munitionibus adiacerent**, i.e. they were lying listlessly along the ramparts, instead of standing on guard.

17. **tanto infensius...incusabantur**, 'they were cut down without mercy; the enemy taunting them with being renegades and deserters, who had taken up arms for their own and their country's enslavement' [R.].

quanto, often used without a comparative in the second member.

18. **ferre...incusabantur**. For the nom. and infin. cf. c. 22.

49

2. **si**, 'if perchance,' 'hoping that,' εἴ πως. Cf. xv 13 *propius incedens si hostem in proelium eliceret.*

3. **castello...coniunctis tumulis...praesidia**, 'fort...adjoining heights...fortified posts.'

5. **opportune**, 'in suitable places.'

muniebat, 'had begun to establish.'

fossam loricamque contexens. Notice the *zeugma*. Translate: 'connecting these by a ditch and breast-work (or stockade).'

6. **passuum**. The Roman *passus* was two *gradus*, i.e. five English feet.

ambitu, 'circuit.'

8. **contrahere...circumdare**, 'drawing his lines closer and closer in' [R.].

10. **aeque quam**, a Silver age construction, occurs again in ii 52. Cf. Suet. *Claudius* 35 *nihil aeque quam timidus ac diffidens fuit.*

11. **bellatorum inbellium**. Dräger takes this as an *oxymoron*. It is surely better to explain it as *asyndeton* (with N.). Cf. the previous sentence and *equi armenta* (immediately following).

13. **ut mos barbaris**. Lanciani (quoted by R.) shows how in early Italian towns, such as Antemnae, and the first settlement on the Palatine, space was included inside the walls for the cattle,

which were driven in from their pastures at night. Each family was provided with an *agellus* and a sheepfold.

16. **contactu**, 'contagion.' Cf. vi 7 *infecti quasi ualetudine et contactu.*

50

1. **rebusque turbatis...discordia**, 'and to their troublous state was added the crowning misery of dissension.' *discordia* is of course nominative.

3. **et erant qui...suaderent.** The meaning is well brought out by R.: 'others again proposed that they should make a dash for it and sell their lives dearly.'

4. **neque ignobiles...sententiis**, 'it was not the common herd only who dissented from these views.'

5. **his sententiis**, the two opinions held by the party of resistance [F.].

6. **uim atque clementiam...edoctus.** Cf. Livy vi 32 *Latinae legiones longa societate militiam Romanam edoctae*; and see Roby 1122.

8. **disserebat**, 'maintained that....'

10. **aetate aut sexu inbecilli**, neatly rendered by C. and B. 'whom age or sex unfitted for war.'

12. **utrique destinatum...occidere.** In English we should say: 'both had determined not to outlive their freedom.'

13. **properum finem...clamitans.** The sentence is designedly exclamatory, to express the agitation of the speaker; and, as F. says, the sense of such a verb as *suadens* can easily be supplied from the gerundive and *clamitans*. R.'s translation is very vigorous: 'Tarsa wished to make short work of it, and, crying out that they should have done with hope and fear alike, showed the way by plunging a sword into his own breast.'

16. **oppeterent.** The use of this verb without *mortem* is Virgilian.

17. **firmatae stationes...globis**, 'he strengthened his outposts with denser masses of men.'

18. **ingruebat nox...atrox**, 'night was falling with ugly storm-clouds.'

19. **modo.** N. refers to the similar omission of *modo* in the first clause in vi 32 *Artabanus tardari metu, modo cupidine uindictae inardescere.*

per uastum silentium, 'amid an awful silence.' For the modal use of *per* cf. c. 42; and for the change of construction c. 46.

20. **cum circumire,** a Tacitean structure. Cf. ii 31 *cum Libo uocare percussorem, prensare seruorum dextras, inserere gladium.* See Roby 1733.

21. **ad ambigua sonitus,** 'in the face of a babel of noise.' Cf. i 44 *supplices ad haec* and *Hist.* iii 56 *ad omnes nuntios.*

22. **casum...aperirent.** Notice this Tacitean use of *casus,* 'chance' or 'opportunity.' Translate: 'lay open an opportunity for surprise.'

23. **in falsum,** 'on a false alarm,' 'aimlessly.'

51

1. **barbari.** We should say 'natives.'

cateruis. Notice how frequently the ablative of manner is used in describing military formations. N. quotes ii 80 *ueterani ordinibus ac subsidiis instructi*; *Hist.* ii 42 *comminus eminus cateruis et cuneis concurrebant*; v 16 *Ciuilis haud porrecto agmine sed cuneis adstitit.*

2. **uallum,** i.e. the *lorica* of c. 49.

manualia saxa, the χειροπληθεῖς λίθοι of Xen. *Anab.* iii 3 17.

4. **pontes,** 'gangways.'

5. **propugnaculis,** 'turrets.'

7. **miles,** i.e. the Roman soldiers.

8. **muralia pila,** 'siege javelins,' longer than the ordinary *pila* used in line of battle.

pila...lapidum moles prouoluere, an instance of *zeugma.*

9. **insignitius flagitium,** 'more flagrant disgrace.' Cf. iii 70 *insignitior infamia.* This comparative form seems to be more often used in a bad sense than *insignior.*

10. **extrema iam salus,** 'the forlorn hope.'

13. **incerti ictus,** 'random shots.'

suorum...ignoratio, 'they could not distinguish friend from foe.'

14. **montis anfractu**, 'from the winding valleys.'

15. **uelut a tergo uoces**, to be taken closely together. 'the sound of voices seeming to come from behind.'

miscuerant ut...omiserint. For the syntax see c. 15.

16. **ut...omiserint**, 'that the Romans abandoned part of their fortifications, thinking that they had been broken through.'

17. **peruasere**, 'found their way in.'

19. **adpetente luce**. Cf. Livy's *iam uer adpetebat*.

20. **castelli**. See c. 49.

coacta, 'enforced.' The verb *cogo* is not often used of things, as here. Cf. xiii 43 *nullam accusationem ab eo coactam*; xvi 19 *coacta mors*.

proxima...recepta, 'the neighbouring districts were taken over with the consent of the inhabitants.'

21. **sponte incolarum**. For this construction cf. ii 59 *sponte principis*. It is a Silver age usage.

22. **montis Haemi...hiemps**, 'the early and severe Balkan winter.'

52

1. **commota**, 'shaken,' i.e. by the death of Drusus and the intrigues against the family of Germanicus.

3. **Pulchra sobrina eius**. She was Agrippina's second cousin.

4. **recens praetura**. *praetura* is pure abl.,—'fresh from the praetorship.' Cf. i 41 *recens dolore et ira*; *Hist.* iii 77 *recens uictoria*; Virg. *Aen.* vi 450 *recens a uulnere Dido*. He had just laid down the praetorship, and was hoping for the consulship, which he gained in 39 A.D.

modicus dignationis, lit. 'moderate in respect of esteem.' Cf. ii 73 *modicus uoluptatum*.

5. **quoquo facinore**, 'by any crime whatsoever.'

properus clarescere, the only instance of this construction of *properus*.

7. **deuotiones**, 'incantations,' 'imprecations.'

atrox, 'rigorous.'

8. **tum et**, 'and now also.'

9. **quo initio inuidiae**, sociative abl.,—'with this as the text of her bitter attack.' Cf. i 16 *eo principio lasciuire miles*. For this sense of *inuidia* cf. iii 67 *inuidiam et preces miscuerat*.

12. **imaginem**, 'representative.'

13. **intellegere discrimen, suscipere sordes**, 'saw that the danger was her own, took to herself the suppliant's garb' [F.]; 'accepted her humiliation' [P.F.].

14. **praescribi**, 'is offered as a pretext.' Cf. *Hist.* iii 13 *praescriptum Vespasiani nomen*.

15. **stulte prorsus**, 'all too foolishly.'

16. **ad cultum delegerit**, 'chose as the object of her worship.'

oblita Sosiae. Cf. c. 19.

17. **audita haec...elicuere**, 'these words had the rare effect of drawing a retort from that close-locked breast' [R.].

18. **correptam**, 'interrupted.'

Graeco uersu, 'by a Greek quotation,' thus given by Suetonius *Tib.* 53, *si non dominaris, filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas*.

20. **Afer primoribus...additus**. Cf. Quintilian x 1 118 *eorum quos uiderim Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi. arte ille et toto genere dicendi praeferendus, et quem in numero ueterum locare non timeas*.

21. **adseueratione...qua...appellauit**. Cf. *Hist.* iii 39 *audita est Vitellii vox, qua iactauit*.

suo iure disertum, 'an orator in his own right.' 'His claim to eloquence was beyond cavil; he had as much right to it as a man has to his own estate, as it were' [P.F.]. So Cicero (*Archias* 18) appears to quote Ennius as calling poets *iure suo sancti* [F.].

23. **prosperiore fama fuit**, abl. of description.

24. **nisi quod...dempsit**, a Ciceronian use. It is found in several other passages in Tacitus.

25. **dum fessa aetate...inpatientiam**, very well rendered by R.—'for, though his powers failed him, he was unable to resign himself to silence.' Quintilian (xii 12 3) describes how he now saw Afer as a very old man *aliquid ex ea quam meruerat auctoritate*. He had once been undisputed *princeps fori* 'Leader of the Bar.' Now people said *malle eum deficere quam desinere*.

53

1. **peruicax irae**, 'persisting in her resentment.' Cf. *Hist.* iv 5 *recti peruicax*. The genitive is on the analogy of *propositi tenax* and similar expressions.

3. **mox inuidiam et preces orditur**, 'then beginning in a tone of mixed entreaty and reproach' [R.].

4. **habilem**, i.e. for marriage. Cf. Hor. *odes* iii 19 *non habilis Lyco*. She was now about 40.

6. **esse in ciuitate**, i.e. there were plenty of nobles ready to espouse her cause.

8. **non ignarus...peteretur**, 'seeing the importance of her request politically.' F. points out that to give a new husband to the grand-daughter of Augustus and mother of the natural heirs to the principate was a very grave matter.

9. **offensionis...manifestus**, 'clearly convicted of resentment or alarm,'—on the analogy of *reus*. Cf. ii 85 *delicti manifesta*.

11. **quamquam instantem**, 'however pressing.' *quamuis* is commoner in this sense. Cf. c. 11, 20.

12. **commentariis Agrippinae filiae**, 'the memoirs of Agrippina the younger.' Merivale states (c. 45) that 'it is natural to surmise that the revelations of the palace, which our historians relate, are derived in a great measure from these family memoirs; and it is impossible to overlook the probability that the conduct both of Tiberius and Sejanus would be seriously misrepresented by an hereditary enemy to both.'

54

1. **maerentem...perculit**, well rendered by R.,—'taking advantage of Agrippina's distress and her unsuspecting nature, Sejanus now dealt her a more deadly blow.'

2. **immissis**. Cf. c. 19.

per speciem. For the modal use of *per* cf. c. 53 *per silentium*, c. 56 *per modestiam*.

3. **soceri**, since Tiberius was the adoptive father of her husband.

4. **cum propter discumberet**, 'reclining next to the Emperor.'

5. **uultu.** 'There is some little ambiguity as to whose looks are intended; most probably those of Agrippina. She could not be induced to alter her gloomy aspect or change the style of her conversation' [P.F.]. There can be no doubt that *uultu* and *sermone* are ablatives of respect.

6. **aduertit**, 'noticed.' Cf. vi 40 *ut atrox aduertebatur.*

7. **quo acrius experiretur**, 'to make a more searching experiment.'

8. **ut erant adposita**, 'as soon as they had been put on the table.'

10. **tramisit**, 'passed them on.'

coram, 'personally' or 'openly' addressed to her. Cf. vi 8 *spectamus porro quae coram habentur.*

11. **matrem**, who was reclining on the other side of the Emperor.

non mirum, sc. *fore.*

si quid seuerius...statuisset, 'if he took stronger measures.'

14. **secretum**, 'a secret method.'

55

1. **quo famam auerteret**, 'to divert the gossip' (mentioned at the end of the last chapter).

3. **templum.** Cf. c. 15.

4. **pari...diuersae**, 'with equal eagerness, but differing in the strength (of their claim).'

7. **Persi.** The usual form of the gen. is *Persei.* The war with Perseus was the Third Macedonian war, 171–168 B.C.

Aristonici. This war lasted from 131 to 129 B.C. He claimed the kingdom of Pergamus after the death of Attalus.

8. **Hypaepeni**, etc. The people of **Hypaepa** lived in Lydia on the southern slope of Tmolus. **Tralles** is in Caria on a tributary of the Maeander. The **Laodicea** here referred to was on the borders of Phrygia and Caria, on the river Lycus. **Magnesia** is probably the one on the Maeander. The **Ilienses** were the people of New Ilium, an Aetolian settlement at Hissarlik. **Halicarnassus** (in Caria), destroyed by Alexander, was chiefly famous in later

times for the Mausoleum, of which there are considerable remains in the British Museum.

14. **uiuo in saxo**, from Virg. *Aen.* i 167.

fundamenta templi, sc. *fore*. Concrete foundations would not be required.

15. **Pergamenos**. Cf. c. 37.

eo ipso nitebantur, 'that was the very thing on which they rested their claim.' But it told against them; for it was not thought good to have temples to two Emperors in the same city.

Augusto, 'in honour of Augustus.'

17. **caerimonia occupauisse...uisi**, 'were thought to have engrossed the interests of their cities in the worship of Apollo and Diana.' They had no interest to spare for a new temple.

19. **Etruriae**, i.e. of the old Etruscan league.

20. **Tyrrhenum Lydumque**. This account of the oriental origin of the Etruscans is found first in Herodotus i 94. It is supported by some arguments philological and ethnological, and also by the remains of Etruscan art.

Atye, abl. of Atys.

26. **Pelope**. Pelops is a Lydian in Pindar *Ol.* i 37.

litteras imperatorum, 'documents given them by our generals.'

27. **bello Macedonum**, i.e. the war with Perseus mentioned above.

28. **ubertatem fluminum**, i.e. the Pactolus and the Hermus.

56

1. **Zmyrnaei**, i.e. the envoys of Smyrna at Rome.

repetita, 'having retraced' or 'recounted.'

2. **illos** should strictly be *se*,—'had founded them (the people of Smyrna).'

3. **una Amazonum**, named 'Smyrna,' according to the legend.

condidisset. The subj. is oblique.

transcendere, historic infin.,—'they passed on.'

ad ea quis fidebant...officiis, 'what they most relied on, namely their services' [F.]. For this curious attraction N. quotes Cic. *ad Q. F.* ii 3 *de iis, quae in Sestium apparabantur crimina*; Livy

xl 20 *de iis, quorum Perseus Demetrium insimulasset sermonum*; and other parallels.

5. **externa ad bella**, i.e. the war with Antiochus, 191–188 B.C. Their help in this war is mentioned several times by Livy.

6. **in Italia**, i.e. the Social war, 90–87 B.C. R. has an interesting note:—'Among the preparations made by Rome to resist the Italians was the collecting of a fleet from cities in Greece and Asia Minor. A decree of the Senate of 78 B.C. is still extant bestowing rewards on sea-captains from Asia Minor for services in this war.'

7. **M. Porcio consule.** Cato the censor became consul in 195 B.C.

11. **grauissimo in discrimine**, i.e. in the First Mithridatic war, 84 B.C.

ob asperitatem hiemis, when Sulla had gone over to Asia after the battle of Orchomenus.

13. **omnes qui adstabant.** F. points out that 'Tacitus carries much further the usage, very rare before Livy, of interposing, in the midst of *oratio obliqua*, a parenthetical or explanatory relative clause in the indicative.' The parenthetical clauses are found chiefly with *dum*. The relative clauses are generally very brief ones.

15. **Zmyrnaeos praetulere.** N. mentions a coin of Smyrna bearing a figure of Tiberius inside a temple, with the legend Σεβαστὸς Τιβέριος, and on the reverse Σεβαστή (i.e. the mother of Tiberius) and Σύνκλητος (Senate).

16. **M'.** stands for *Manio.*

17. **ea prouincia**, i.e. the province of Asia, in which Smyrna was.

super numerum legaretur, 'a supernumerary legate should be granted.'

19. **deligere**, 'to appoint' a *legatus*.

per modestiam. In the best Latin *modestia* means 'law-abidingness,' 'good conduct'; in Tacitus sometimes 'modesty' as here.

Valerius Naso would be sent out as *praefectus fabrum* or 'master of works' to Lepidus [R.].

e praetoriis, 'an ex-praetor.' Cf. c. 58 *praetura functus*.

57

1. **meditato**, passive.

2. **Caesar in Campaniam** may possibly be right. N. quotes xiv 8 *anxia Agrippina, quod nemo a filio*; Livy xli 3 *tum demum nuntius ad tertiam legionem reuocandam*; and other passages. But his examples are mostly from rapid, vigorous narratives. So perhaps Halm and others are right in introducing *abscessit* or some other verb of motion here.

3. **apud Nolam**, on the site of the house where Augustus died.

4. **certus...degere**, a poetical construction. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* iv 564 *certa mori.*

causam...rettuli. Cf. vi 49 *causa ad matrem referebatur.*

7. **sex...coniunxit**, 'he spent the next six years (31–37 A.D.) in similar seclusion.' Tacitus is fond of *coniungo* in this sense.

plerumque, 'often.' Cf. c. 6, 9, 18.

permoueor num, 'I am disturbed by doubts whether....' N. quotes an exactly similar use of *perturbor* from Caes. *B. G.* iv 14. The words which follow are well rendered by C. and B.:—'whether it is not more truly to be ascribed to himself, and his wish to hide by the place of his retreat the cruelty and licentiousness which he betrayed by his actions.'

11. **praegracilis...proceritas**, 'his figure, though tall, was stooping and very slender.'

13. **medicaminibus interstincta**, 'patched here and there with plasters.' Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 68 *facie honesta, in qua tamen crebri et subiti tumores.* R. points out that 'the well-known statue of Tiberius in the Vatican has every mark of personal beauty and dignity about it; and it would appear to have been a faithful likeness. But there is an unmistakeable look of evil temper in the bust of Tiberius in the British Museum.'

15. **inpotentia**, 'headstrong temper.' Cf. Vell. ii. 11 *Marius immodicus gloriae, insatiabilis, impotens.*

18. **dubitauerat**, 'had thought about' [F.]. N. quotes Cic. *ad Att.* xii 49 *cum dubitet Curtius consulatum petere.*

21. **Tiberio...adsciuit**, 'he adopted Tiberius himself, and made Tiberius adopt Germanicus.'

22. **exprobrabat**, 'used to throw the gift in his teeth,' 'used to taunt him with it.' Cf. xiii 21 *exprobrare beneficium.*

58

1. **arto comitatu**, sociative abl., 'with a scanty retinue.'

2. **Cocceius Nerua**, grandfather of the Emperor Nerva.

4. **ferme Graeci.** Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 56 *comites Graeculos, quibus uel maxime acquiescebat; id.* 70 *maxime tamen curauit notitiam historiae fabularis, usque ad ineptias atque derisum.* He asked such questions as 'who was Hecuba's mother?' 'what song used the Sirens to sing?'

6. **periti caelestium**, 'the astrologers.' Tacitus sometimes calls them *Chaldaei.*

iis motibus siderum, abl. of circumstance,—'under such planetary conjunctions' [F.].

11. **libens patria careret.** Merivale (c. 45) writes: 'Harsh, indeed, and unreal the historian's phrase may appear to our notions, *to abandon one's country*, thus applied to a citizen quitting the walls of Rome to reside in a suburban retreat on the coast of Campania. Doubtless we may trace in it something of an affectation of antique sentiment, from which Tacitus is by no means always exempt.'

breue confinium artis et falsi, 'the narrow line of demarcation between science and imposture.' Cf. Tac. *dial.* 30 *angustis et breuibus terminis clauditur.*

14. **egere**, 'lived on,'—a very frequent use of *ago* in Tacitus.

15. **moenia...adsidens**, a construction chiefly poetical. Sallust (*fragm.*) has *Amisum adsideri audiebat.* Cf. Virg. *Aen.* xi 304 *muros adsidet hostis.*

16. **compleuerit**, aorist use of the perf. subj. Cf. c. 15, 20.

59

2. **uana rumoris**, a very frequent form of expression in Tacitus. Cf. c. 67 *saeua uentorum.*

5. **Speluncae**, probably dative, attracted into the case of *cui.* P.F. is inclined to take it as genitive, comparing *Hist.* iv 18

castra quibus ueterum nomen est. The name is preserved in the modern Sperlonga.

mare Amunclanum, 'the bay of Amyclae' between Caieta and Terracina. This place was deserted in Pliny's time.

Fundanos, 'of Fundi,' now Fondi.

9. **genu...suspensus,** i.e. protecting Tiberius with his body, on his hands and knees, and with his face to his [F.].

10. **habitu,** 'attitude.'

12. **quamquam...suaderet.** See c. 4.

non sui anxius. Cf. ii 75, where we have the same expression. It is gen. of object.

13. **adsimulabat...partes,** 'he assumed a judicial attitude.' F. compares xv 65 *speciem iudicis induere.*

16. **modesta,** here in its correct sense of 'well-behaved.'

17. **plerumque,** 'often' (evidently here).

in praesentia, 'at the present juncture.' See Appendix.

19. **apiscendae potentiae properis,** 'hurrying to obtain power.' The gen. is on the analogy of that after words of desiring. Cf. xiv 7 *properus uindictae*; xii 66 *oblatae occasionis propera.*

erectum...ostenderet. The omission of *se* is awkward, but not impossible in Tacitus. Cf. ii 71.

20. **animi,** 'in mind,'—a true locative. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* ii 61 *fidens animi.*

21. **neque ausurum contra,** 'Sejanus would not venture to move a hand against him.' For this use of *audeo* (absolute) with adverb N. quotes *Hist.* ii 25 *unde rursus ausi*; v 11 *longius ausuri.*

22. **qui nunc patientiam...insultet,** 'though he could now play alike on the long-suffering of the old man and the supineness of the young one' [R.].

60

1. **audienti,** i.e. Neroni.

nihil...cogitationis, 'no treasonable designs.'

4. **exceptas auctasque,** 'caught up and exaggerated.' *excipio* is frequent in the sense of 'catch,' e.g. Horace's *excipere aprum.*

5. **diuersae...formae,** 'various types of annoyance.'

7. **plerique,** 'many' (again).

8. **insistentibus**, 'would stand their ground' [C. and B.]. So also F., who takes the word in contrast to *uitare* and *auerti*, i.e. 'they scornfully called his attention to the behaviour of his friends.'

9. **enimuero**, 'indeed.'

10. **toruus**, 'would look grimly on' [R.].

falsum renidens. Horace has *dulce ridentem* and *perfidum ridens*.

seu loqueretur seu taceret. The subj. of frequency, not uncommon in Livy, occurs often in Silver Latin.

12. **uxor**, i.e. Julia, daughter of Drusus and Livia.

15. **traxit in partes**, 'drew to his side.' Cf. xiii 2 *habebat in partibus Pallantem*.

16. **atrox...ingenium**, 'savage temper.'

17. **solita fratribus odia**, a favourite thought with Tacitus. Cf. xiii 17 *antiquas fratrum discordias*; xv 2 *uetera fratrum odia*.

19. **promptior**, 'more inclined to.'

neque tamen...meditaretur. The meaning is well brought out by R.—'yet even in encouraging Drusus, Sejanus plotted how to sow the seeds of his future ruin.'

21. **praeferocem**, 'very impetuous.'

22. **opportunum**, 'exposed to.'

61

1. **Asinius Agrippa**. See c. 34. His grandfathers, Asinius Pollio and M. Agrippa, were *noui homines* [N.]. F. notes the use of two positives, due to the desire to avoid the juxtaposition of *magis*, or a comparative, with *maioribus*.

3. **familia senatoria, eloquentiae celebratae**. The linking together of dissimilar constructions is thoroughly Tacitean.

4. **monimenta**, 'memorials,' 'specimens.'

haud perinde retinentur, 'are not commensurately sustained in admiration' [F.].

5. **scilicet**, 'the truth is.'

impetu magis quam cura. Cf. Seneca *exc. contr.* B. iv *pr.* 7 *solus omnium Romanorum, quos modo ipse cognoui, in Latinam linguam transtulit Graecam facilitatem. tanta erat illi uelocitas*

orationis, ut uitium fieret. itaque diuus Augustus optime dixit: Haterius noster sufflaminandus est, 'requires the brake.'

7. **Haterii...extinctum est**, 'the sonorous and fluent style of Haterius perished with him,'—borrowed from Cic. *de or.* iii 28 *profluens quiddam habuit Carbo et canorum.*

62

1. **M. Licinio L. Calpurnio.** They were M. Licinius Crassus and L. Calpurnius Piso.

3. **initium...exstitit**, 'it began and ended in a moment' [F.].

coepto...amphitheatro, dative depending on *subdidit* below.

4. **Fidenam.** The singular is found in Virg. *Aen.* vi 773 and a few other passages.

6. **per solidum**, 'on firm ground,'—modal use of *per*. Cf. c. 54.

8. **abundantia...ambitione**, ablatives of manner.

municipali ambitione, 'to gain favour with his fellow-townsmen.'

11. **procul uoluptatibus habiti.** 'Tiberius hated games of all kinds; so did Cicero, who speaks of the necessity of having to attend such shows, for popularity's sake, as one of the greatest bores of life' [R.].

uirile ac muliebre secus, adverbial accus. of description. Cf. *Hist.* v 13; Livy xxvi 47 *liberorum capitum uirile secus ad decem millia capta.* See Roby 1104.

12. **ob propinquitatem**, five miles from Rome, now Castel Giubileo.

13. **grauior pestis fuit**, 'the calamity was all the more serious.'

conferta mole, 'when the huge building was packed.'

conuulsa, 'collapsed.'

14. **in exteriora effunditur**, 'bulges outwards.'

16. **praeceps**, adverbial. Cf. vi 17 *famam praeceps dabat.* But *in praeceps* is more common.

18. **ut tali sorte**, 'considering the terrible circumstances.' Cf. Tacitus *Germ.* 30 *multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis.*

21. **noscebant**, 'were recognising.'

25. **nequedum...quos**, 'and as it had not been discovered who....'

uis, of fire. Cf. c. 64 *uim ignium*.

latior, 'more widespread,'—used again of fear in xii 43 *dum latius metuitur*; *Hist.* iv 33 *latiorem terrorem faciunt.*

63

1. **obruta**, 'the ruins' or 'débris.'

3. **si confusior facies...fecerat**, 'if, in spite of a face which baffled recognition, likeness of shape or age had deceived those who sought to identify them' [F.].

4. **quinquaginta milia**, an absurd exaggeration [R.].

5. **debilitata**, 'maimed.' Cf. xiii 14 *debilis Burrus* 'crippled Burrus'; Cic. *pro Flacco* 72 *membra quae debilitauit lapidibus fustibus ferro.*

7. **gladiatorium munus ederet**, 'should give a gladiatorial show.'

cui minor...res, 'whose means fell below 400,000 sesterces,' i.e. the equestrian rating. For the syntax cf. Suet. *Aug.* 38 *maiores annorum quinque et triginta.*

9. **solo firmitatis spectatae**, 'on a foundation of approved solidity.'

10. **sub recentem cladem**, 'just after the recent disaster.' See Roby 2129.

64

3. **feralem...absentiae**, 'men began to say it was an ill-starred year, and that the Emperor's design of leaving Rome had been entered on against the auspices.'

ferebant...ni obuiam isset. Cf. c. 9 and Roby 1574.

5. **fortuita ad culpam trahentes**, 'interpreting misfortune as guilt,'—a frequent use of *traho* in Tacitus.

ni Caesar...detrimenti, 'had not the Emperor checked them by making grants according to the amount of each man's loss.'

8. **fama apud populum**, 'he was applauded by the populace.'

sine ambitione, 'without respect of persons' [F.].

9. **ignotos...ultro accitos**, 'even inviting applications from persons unknown to himself.'

10. **sententiae**, i.e. decrees of the senate.

11. **Augustus**, Mount Augustus. But there is no evidence to show that the proposed name was used.

14. **Claudiae Quintae**. In 204 B.C. the ship conveying the image of Cybele from Phrygia ran aground in the Tiber. Claudia proved her high character by hauling it off; and her statue was set up in the temple of the Mother of the Gods.

uim ignium...elapsam. Tacitus has the accus. after *elabor* again in i 61; after *erumpo* in xii 63; after *exeo* in vi 49. Cf. Virgil's *erumpere nubem*. See Roby 1121.

16. **acceptos**, 'acceptable.'

17. **caerimoniam**, 'sanctity.'

loco, dat. of possessor.

18. **ostenderint**. See note on c. 58.

65

1. **haud fuerit absurdum**, 'it will not be out of place.' The perf. subj. is often used by Tacitus, as here, in negations of possibility. Cf. c. 3 *neque alia abnuerit*; c. 32 *nemo contenderit*.

2. **Querquetulanum**, 'Oak hill.'

cognomento, a synonym for *nomine*; so also *uocabulo* (line 9).

3. **talis siluae frequens fecundusque**. This construction of *frequens* (found nowhere else) is assimilated to that of *fecundus*.

4. **appellitatum**. See note on c. 41.

Caele Vibenna. The account here followed agrees with that given in the speech of the Emperor Claudius on the Adlection of Gallic Senators (see E. G. Hardy in *Journal of Philology*, vol. xxxii, p. 79):—'According to Tuscan writers, Servius Tullius was once the loyal and devoted retainer of Caelius Vivenna, whose every fortune he shared, and when by changing fortune he was driven to leave Etruria with all that was left of the army of Caelius, he occupied the Caelian Mount, giving it this name from his leader Caelius, and changing his own name from the Tuscan form Mastarna, assumed that by which we know him.'

8. **magnas eas copias**, i.e. of Etruscans.

9. **Tuscum uicum**, extending from the Forum to the Velabrum.

66

1. **ut...ita**, 'though...yet.' Cf. c. 71.

studia...procerum. Cf. c. 63.

2. **accusatorum...infestior uis**, 'a more menacing host of informers.'

3. **sine leuamento grassabatur**, 'relentlessly pursued its way' [R.]. The verb is frequently used for 'to go about, or go to work, with some evil design.' Cf. iii 39 *ueneno grassari*; *Hist.* iv 16 *dolo grassari.* It is especially used of highwaymen. So Nero plays the highwayman in xiii 25 *Caesarem esse qui grassaretur pernotuit.* Cf. Juv. iii 305 *ferro subitus grassator agit rem*; xiv 174 *ferro grassatur.* For the metaphorical use cf. xiii 4 *paucorum potentia grassaretur.* See also c. 47.

5. **Domitius Afer.** See c. 52.

6. **condemnator**, 'successful prosecutor' [C. and B.]. Cf. iii. 36.

8. **plura ad flagitia accingeretur**, 'was girding himself for fresh iniquities.'

9. **claris maioribus**, sociative abl.

11. **suum sanguinem.** We say 'his flesh and blood.'

perditum ibat. Tacitus has also *raptum eo* (c. 1) and *ultum eo* (c. 73).

12. **opperiendum**, i.e. wait for his return to Rome.

67

1. **dedicatis...templis.** See c. 57.

2. **ne quis quietem eius inrumperet.** Ordinary syntax would demand *quietem suam.* N. compares *Hist.* ii 9 *ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat.* 'Of course *eius* is the more strictly correct of the two; but usage is in favour of *suam*' [P.F.].

5. **Capreas se in insulam abdidit.** Cf. xiii 51 *Hiberos ad patrium regnum.*

7. **Surrentini**, i.e. of Sorrento.

9. **subsidia**, 'places of refuge.' 'Two small coves exist on the north and south, on either side of the modern town of Capri,

which lies in the depression between the eastern and western precipices' [F.].

10. **neque adpulerit quisquam.** For this use of the perfect subj. cf. c. 65.

11. **obiectu montis.** Cf. Virg. *Aen.* i 160 *obiectu laterum.*

saeua uentorum. Cf. c. 59 *uana rumoris.*

12. **aestas...peramoena,** 'its summer climate, as it faces the west and has open sea around, is very lovely' [F.].

14. **pulcherrimum sinum.** Cf. *Hist.* iii 56 *beatos Campaniae sinus.*

16. **Telebois.** See Virg. *Aen.* vii 735 *Teleboum Capreas cum regna teneret* (*Telon*).

17. **duodecim...insederat,** 'had taken up his position on the names and ruins of twelve villas,' i.e. those of former owners, now absorbed into his own grounds. So F. is inclined to take this difficult passage (after Bötticher). R. points out that Tiberius had no taste for extravagant buildings (vi 45); and that the meaning probably is that he united in some way and adapted to his use twelve previously existing villas. One of his villas was called *Villa Iouis* (Suet. *Tib.* 65).

P.F. writes:—'It is not very clear what case *nominibus* is. In ii 16 Tacitus has the accus. after the verb, *soli Cherusci iuga insedere.* Perhaps the accus. is understood, and *nominibus* and *molibus* are instr. abl.;—Tiberius had occupied (the whole island) with the names and vast structures of his villas. These villas, I suppose, from the way in which Tacitus speaks of them, had demesnes attached to them, and so entirely filled up the island. Wherever you went, you were in the grounds of some villa or other.'

18. **quanto intentus.** Cf. i 68 *quanto inopina, tanto maiora.*

20. **manebat quippe.** See Introduction iii.

23. **introitus,** 'visits paid to them' [F.].

24. **uelut in annales referebat,** 'drew up formal reports as it were.'

25. **ultro struebantur,** 'people were actually set on.' Cf. xi 12 *quo minus strueret crimina et accusatores.*

26. **celeberrimo fori.** Probably *tempore* is to be understood,—

'at the most crowded hour of the day.' For the syntax cf. xiv 2 *medio diei*. P.F. says: 'in the most crowded part of the Forum.'

28. **eaque...obiciebantur**, 'these schemes, though scorned by them, were laid to their charge, as if they were concocting them.'

68

2. **incessit.** Cf. xv 37 *tenebrae incedebant.*

tracto, an aorist participle,—'by the dragging of a knight into prison.'

5. **sectator domi**, 'their visitor at home.'

7. **grauis iniquis**, 'a terror to wrong-doers.'

8. **praetura functi**, 'ex-praetors.' Cf. c. 56 *e praetoriis*.

9. **cupidine consulatus.** R. has a useful note:—'The motive here assigned gives the key to many of the prosecutions of this time. Apart from any special desire to curry favour with Sejanus, every ex-praetor was burning to gain the consulship. As in days of yore, the necessary distinction could only be gained by oratory; and the only field for oratory, as well as the only avenue to imperial favour, lay through conducting prosecutions in the law-courts.'

12. **modico usu**, 'slight acquaintance.'

strueret dolum, 'hatch the plot.' Contrast the use of the verb at the end of c. 67.

14. **iacere...sermones**, 'was letting fall some casual expressions.'

15. **florentis...adflictam.** We have the same antithesis in c. 71.

16. **honora...disserebat**, 'he made some complimentary remarks.'

18. **molles**, 'impressionable.'

20. **onerat**, a strange absolute use of the verb,—'he loads (with abuse).'

22. **tamquam uetita miscuissent**, 'uniting them as it were in an unlawful secret' [C. and B.].

23. **ultro**, here in a strong sense,—'returning the compliment.' Sometimes *ultro* means as much as 'turning the tables on.'

69

1. **quonam modo...acciperentur**, 'how these conversations could be brought within the hearing of several people.'

3. **seruanda solitudinis facies**, 'they must preserve the appearance of secrecy.'

4. **metus uisus...erat**, 'there was the fear of being seen or being heard or of some chance suspicion.'

5. **tectum inter et laquearia**, 'between the roof and ceiling.' Cf. Appian *B. C.* iv 44 ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μεταξύ.

tres senatores. This heightens the disgrace.

6. **turpi latebra...fraude**, abl. of manner.

7. **foraminibus et rimis**, i.e. the open work of the ceiling [F.].

8. **in publico**, 'in the street.'

9. **recens cognita**. For the adverbial use of *recens* cf. c. 5 *recens perdomitae*.

10. **praeterita et instantia**. Cf. *Hist.* iii 36 *praeterita instantia futura*; Cic. *Tusc.* iv 11 *quae uenientia metuuntur, eadem afficiunt aegritudine instantia*.

11. **quorum adfatim copia**, 'of which there was ample abundance.'

12. **eadem ille et diutius**, 'he spoke on the same topics and at greater length.' Cf. vi 27 *neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est*; *Hist.* i 16 *monere diutius*.

quanto, 'in as much as.'

14. **ordinem fraudis**, 'the details of the plot.'

15. **non alias...proximos**, 'never was Rome so agitated, so terror-stricken; men kept their counsel even from their nearest' [R.]. For *tegens* see Appendix.

18. **circumspectabantur**, 'were jealously regarded.' N. quotes *Hist.* iv 8 *uultus ac sermones omnium circumspectans*.

70

1. **sollemnia**, the usual prayers *pro incolumitate rei publicae*.

2. **epistula precatus**. He sent his good wishes in a letter to the senate.

3. **libertorum**, i.e. of the Emperor.

4. **nec mora quin decerneretur**, 'he was condemned immediately.'

5. **trahebatur**, i.e. to execution. Cf. Juv. x 66 *Seianus ducitur unco*; 99 *huius qui trahitur.*

quantum...poterat. These words must be taken closely with *clamitans*. Translate;—'as far as he could make effort with his face muffled in his cloak and his throat in tight grip.' Cf. Juv. x 88 *ceruice obstricta dominum trahat.*

7. **sic incohari annum**, 'see how the New Year begins!'

uictimas cadere, alluding to the New Year sacrifices. Sejanus is the god.

8. **quo intendisset...quo uerba acciderent.** For the subj. of frequency see c. 60.

9. **fuga uastitas...fora**, 'there was flight and desolation; the streets and squares were forsaken.'

10. **id ipsum...timuissent**, 'afraid of the very fact of their fear.'

11. **quem enim diem.** The *oratio obliqua* begins here (in the mouth of the people), introducing the reason for the general panic.

12. **uerbis etiam.** Cf. the formula *fauete linguis.*

13. **uincla et laqueus inducantur**, 'chains and halter were brought on the scene.' The verb is frequent in Cicero in this sense. The metaphor is from bringing on the stage.

14. **non inprudentem...adisse**, 'not with his eyes shut had Tiberius courted such odium.'

15. **quaesitum meditatumque...recludant**, 'he had done it deliberately and of set purpose, to let people understand that nothing was to prevent newly elected magistrates from opening the doors of the prisons as freely as those of shrines and altars' [R.]. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 61 *nullus a poena hominum cessauit dies, ne religiosus quidem et sacer.*

19. **adiecto...uitam**, 'adding that he trembled for his life.'

22. **intendi**, 'that these remarks were aimed.'

71

1. **ni destinatum foret...auebat animus,** 'had it not been my fixed resolve—I should (and do) feel a strong desire to anticipate events.' F. notes that 'what is spoken of was not merely on the point of occurring, but did and still does occur to the mind.' He quotes (after Dräger) Cic. *de off.* ii 67 *admonebat me res ut deplorarem, ni uererer.*

3. **exitus,** 'ends,' 'deaths,'—a favourite use of the word with Tacitus.

5. **Gaius Caesar,** i.e. Caligula.

rerum potitus est, a common expression in Tacitus for ascending the throne.

6. **ut...ita.** Cf. c. 66.

7. **plerumque...adflixit,** 'often, when sick of them, on new agents offering themselves for the same services, he threw over the old, now a mere incubus.'

9. **in tempore,** 'in due course.'

13. **ut rebatur,** to be taken closely with *uoluptatibus.*

14. **eo aegrius...premeret,** 'he was therefore all the more put out at the disclosure of what he was trying to conceal.'

15. **mitigauit,** 'smoothed him down.'

16. **cunctationes...opperiretur,** 'he might wait for the tardy vengeance of the Emperor.'

17. **gnarus...coniungere,** 'well aware that he was slow in making up his mind, but when once he broke through his reserve he made the cruel deed follow hard on the ominous word.'

19. **Iulia,** the younger Julia, daughter of the elder Julia and Agrippa, and therefore grand-daughter of Augustus. It is generally supposed that she involved the poet Ovid in her ruin.

21. **Trimerum.** Trimerus is one of the Diomedian Islands, north of Garganus. The modern name of the group is Isole di Tremiti.

22. **uiginti annis.** The abl. of time *throughout which* is almost entirely post-Augustan. See Roby 1184, 1185.

23. **priuignos,** 'step-children' here.

24. **adflictos,** 'the stricken survivors.'

72

1. **eodem anno Frisii.** Bury's paraphrase (*Student's Roman Empire*, p. 185) is a good commentary on this chapter:—'Against a revolt of tributaries on the northern boundary of the Empire, the arms of Rome were not so successful. The Frisians, who had been subdued by Drusus in 12 B.C., had for forty years paid the tribute which he had imposed on them. This tribute consisted in ox-hides, which were required for military purposes; and the officers who levied it never examined too curiously the size or thickness of the skins, until in 28 A.D. Olennius, a primipilar centurion, who was appointed to exact the tribute, chose the hides of wild bulls as the standard. As the domestic cattle of the Germans were of small size, the Frisians found the innovation hard. In order to meet the demands of Olennius, they were forced to give up, first their capital, then their lands, finally to surrender their wives and children as pledges. As their complaints led to no redress, they rose in revolt. The soldiers, who were collecting the tribute, were impaled on gibbets; and Olennius himself was obliged to escape to the fortress of Flevum—probably in the island of the same name, now Vlieland, near the Texel—which was a Roman coastguard station.'

Frisii, occupying the low lands between the mouth of the Rhine and the Ems, surrounding the Zuyder Zee.

2. **pacem exuere**, a very frequent metaphor in Tacitus. Cf. iii 12 *obsequium exuit.*

nostra auaritia, causal abl.

3. **tributum iis iusserat...ut penderent.** For the construction N. quotes xiii 15 *Britannico iussit exsurgeret*; xiii 40 *quibus iusserat ut...resisterent.*

4. **angustia rerum.** The singular is rare; but it is found in Cic. *N. D.* ii 20.

6. **e primipilaribus**, i.e. *centurio primi pili.* He would be a *praefectus* under the *legatus pro praetore* of *Germania inferior.* R. remarks that to such a governor the epigram of Tacitus (i 20) would apply, *eo immitior quia toleraverat.* After their successful

revolt the Frisii remained independent until overcome by Corbulo in 47 A.D.

7. **terga**, 'hides.' *tergora* is more usual in this sense. But cf. xv 44; Virg. *Aen.* i 368 *taurino circumdare tergo*; Ovid *Met.* xii 97 *terga nouena boum.*

urorum. Cf. Caes. *B.G.* vi 28 *hi (uri) sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore et figura tauri. magna uis eorum est et magna uelocitas...hos studiose foueis captos interficiunt.* They were probably the aurochs, the wild oxen of Germany now extinct [R.]. Cf. Pliny *N. H.* viii 15 *excellenti ui et uelocitate uros.* F. compares the Italian buffaloes of Virg. *Georg.* ii 374; iii 532.

10. **beluarum feraces saltus...modica domi armenta**, a good instance of *parataxis*. The antithesis would have been brought out in Greek by *μέν* and *δέ*. Translate: 'for though their forests abound in wild animals of great size, their domestic cattle are small.'

13. **seruitio.** Cf. Livy viii 28 *ut pecuniae creditae bona creditoris, non corpus obnoxium esset...ita nexi soluti.* He is referring to the *lex Poetelia* of 326 B.C.

15. **tributo**, dat. of purpose, not depending on *aderat*. F. compares xii 69 *cohortem quae excubiis adest.*

16. **infensos...praeuenit.** We say, 'escaped their indignation.'

18. **litora Oceani praesidebat**, sense construction,—'was protecting the northern sea-board' [R.]. Cf. iii 39; xii 14.

73

2. **pro praetore**, i.e. *legato Augusti pro praetore.*

uexilla, 'detachments' [F.]. R. says 'veteran detachments,' i.e. *ueterani sub uexillo* (i 17); so also Bury. But, as P.F. points out on i 17, 'all *uexilla* were not *uexilla ueteranorum.* The word *uexilla* denotes bodies of troops, detached from their own legions, and serving apart when occasion required. See Caes. *B.G.* vi 36. Cf. such phrases as *uexillum tironum* (*Ann.* ii 78); *uexillum delectorum* (xv 26); *uexillum equitum* (*Hist.* ii 11). If Tacitus

does not refer to *uexillarii* or *uexilla ueteranorum*, he adds a phrase such as *tironum* or the like, to show that he means only separate bodies detached under a flag on service.' Cf. *Camb. Companion to Latin Studies* § 722:—'the terms *uexillum* and *uexillarii* were applied to any detachment from the main body despatched under a centurion or higher officer to perform some special service.'

3. **peditum et equitum auxiliarium.** They are often called *cohortes alaeque*, e.g. line 21 (below).

4. **utrumque exercitum**, i.e. his own troops from Lower Germany and those from the Upper province.

5. **castelli**, i.e. of Flevum mentioned in c. 72.

6. **degressis.** *degredior* has often much the same meaning as *digredior*, and often the reading is doubtful.

7. **aestuaria**, 'the tidal marshes' of the Zuyder Zee.

aggeribus, 'causeways.' *limes* is often found in this sense.

grauiori agmini, i.e. the legionaries.

9. **alam Canninefatem.** They lived in the 'island' of the Rhine adjoining the Batavi. They are often mentioned by Tacitus in the *Histories*.

11. **turmas sociales**, i.e. the *ala* just mentioned.

equites legionum, apparently those of the four legions of the lower army, who would be in all 16 *turmae* or 480 men [F.].

12. **subsidio missos.** Cf. c. 72 *tributo aderant.*

14. **alarius eques**, the main body of auxiliary horse, as distinct from the single *ala* mentioned above [F.]. 'Soon all the auxiliary forces were engaged' [Bury].

23. **ultum iit**, a favourite expression with Tacitus. Cf. vi 36 *tota mole regni ultum iit.*

24. **praefectorum**, commanders of auxiliaries.

25. **mox compertum.** The mention of two minor disasters follows.

26. **Baduhennae**, probably the name of a goddess.

27. **in posterum extracta**, 'after prolonging the fight to the next day.'

29. **quondam stipendiarii**, 'formerly a soldier in our pay' [R.]. Cf. Livy viii 8 (*Romani*) *postquam stipendiarii facti sunt*,

scuta pro clipeis fecere. Contrast the ordinary meaning of the term, which we find in c. 20. 'These events probably confirmed Tiberius in his determination to regard the Rhine as the limit of the Roman Empire; and he thought it a good opportunity to abandon the last relic of the conquests of his brother beyond that river' [Bury, p. 186].

74

1. **inde,** 'from these operations.' Tacitus notices these two things, -(1) the silence of Tiberius about the campaign; (2) the indifference of the Senate. The meaning is well brought out by R.:—'Tiberius made no mention of the disaster, not wishing to entrust any one with the prosecution of the war. As for the Senate, they cared nothing for loss of honour upon distant frontiers.'

4. **internus,** 'at home.'

6. **Clementiae** is gen. probably. Cf. i 14 *aram adoptionis* [P.F.]. F. quotes the legend on a medal of Tiberius struck about 18 A.D. bearing on the reverse *Clementiae S.C.*

7. **circum,** 'on either side.' Cf. xiv 34 *leuis circum armatura.*

8. **illi,** Tiberius and Sejanus.

9. **degressi,** i.e. from Capreae. Cf. c. 73 *degressis rebellibus.*

omittere insulam. Cf. vi 36 *omissa Armenia.*

10. **in proximo Campaniae,** 'on the adjacent shore of Campania.' Cf. i 53 *in prominenti litoris.*

11. **eques,** 'body of knights.' Cf. *miles* 'soldiery.'

anxii erga Seianum, 'with nervous glances towards Sejanus.'

12. **durior,** 'more difficult,' sc. *erat.*

atque eo...parabatur, 'and an audience could only be obtained by intrigue (i.e. by undue influence over officials) and partnership in his designs.'

15. **sueti discursus,** 'hurrying crowds are a usual sight.'

17. **campo aut litore.** Cf. such Tacitean uses of the ablative as *medio, uicino, plano, toro.*

18. **iuxta,** with *noctem ac diem,*—'by night and day alike.'

21. **male alacres,** 'foolishly eager,' or 'disastrously triumphant.' The meaning of the epigram is explained by the following

words. Merivale, in his paraphrase, takes *male alacres* as 'dejected,' i.e. he gives *male* its negative force (Roby 2234). But this cannot be. P. F. has a good note, comparing Ovid *Ars Am.* iii 699:

coniugis ad timidas aliquis male sedulus aures
auditos nemoris detulit ore sonos.

75

1. **Agrippinam Germanico ortam.** See Introduction iv.

2. **coram,** 'in person' (i.e. in Campania). Cf. c. 54.

Cn. Domitio. This was Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 32 A.D. According to Suet. *Nero* 5, he was *omni parte uitae detestabilis*. He died during Nero's infancy.

tradidisset, 'had betrothed.'

6. **auunculum,** 'great-uncle' here and in several other places in Tacitus, ii 44, 53, iv 3, xii 64; just as *amita* is used for great-aunt in ii 27 [P.F.].

praeferebat, 'he could show' or 'boast.' N. quotes xiv 53 *nobiles et longa decora praeferentes;* xvi 32 *auctoritatem Stoicae sectae praeferebat.*

APPENDIX ON SELECT VARIOUS READINGS.

The textual criticism of the Annals of Tacitus, Books I—VI, is a comparatively simple matter. These books are found in one manuscript only, and that a good one—the *Mediceus primus*, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It was probably written in about the middle of the ninth century (see C. D. Fisher's edition in *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*). It is generally considered to be the best as well as the oldest manuscript of any part of Tacitus. Lost for a very long time, it was found at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the Abbey of Cörvey in Germany, and it was brought to Rome in 1509 by Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X, who added it to the Medicean collection, when it was still in Rome.

In 1515, in obedience to a brief from the Pope, the 'newly found books' were published by Beroaldus of Bologna (1472–1518), nephew and pupil of the far more prolific editor of the same name (see Sir John Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. ii pp. 86, 108). Beroaldus' *editio princeps* purged the text of many obvious blemishes. Leo, in his brief, forbade the publication of rival editions for a period of ten years. Yet we find editions published at Milan in 1517 and at Basel in 1519. Before the end of the sixteenth century much excellent work had been done on the text by Beatus Rhenanus, Muretus, Lipsius, Ursinus, and others. Lipsius was much helped by the valuable notes of Pichena, which, published separately at first, were incorporated in a Variorum edition of 1607.

To the seventeenth century belongs the work of Vertranius, N. Heinsius, and Freinsheim. I. F. Gronovius died in 1671, before the publication of his edition, which was completed by his son, Iac. Gronovius, also editor of the Variorum edition of 1721. In 1687 came Theodorus de Rycke. Ernesti's useful Variorum edition was published in 1752. The nineteenth century editors of the Annals include Walther, Ruperti, Heraeus, Orelli, Baiter, Ritter, Halm, Nipperdey, Haase, Döderlein, Dräger. Furneaux died in the last year of the century.

In the textual notes which follow, *Med.* denotes the *Mediceus primus*; *Med.* 1 and 2 denote corrections by the first and second hands respectively.

1. *raptum ierit* Pichena and edd.: *raptum perit* Med. | *Vulsiniis* Beroaldus: *uulgus sinis* Med.,—buried proper name. Cf. Thuc. i 61 ἐπέστρεψαν codd. for ἐπὶ Στρέψαν.

2. *oreretur* Orelli and Halm after Faërnus: *credetur* Med. (note common confusion between *or* and *cr*): *crederetur* Beroaldus: *cresceret* Muretus | *diductum* Beroaldus: *deductum* Med. For the same corruption see c. 17.

3. *et quia*: Nipperdey omits *et*.

5. *constratae*, 'decked,' Nipperdey. | *Suriae* Muretus: *suria* Med. | *fuerit* Lipsius, followed by Orelli, cf. xv 41: *fuit* Med. and most edd.

6. *plebis agri* Med.: *plebes* Beroaldus: *acri* Rhenanus. See explanatory note.

7. *odii set* Döderlein: *odiis et* Med.,—wrong division and confusion due to *set* (= *sed*) as often.

8. *ac tolleret* Beroaldus: *attolleret* Med.

10. *maximaeque fidei* Ritter: *maximaeque fideis* Med.: *maximeque fidis* Beroaldus. | *prima ei* Rhenanus: *prima et* Med.,—a frequent source of corruption. | *captum* Muretus: *cum* Med.: *tum* Beroaldus: *deceptum* Heinsius.

11. *ne* ins. Rhenanus before *diuulgata*. | *incredibili* Med.: *neque incredibilia* Haase: *diuulgata incredibilia atque a. acc.* Oncken: Nipperdey brackets *incredibilia*: but the word is wanted [Furneaux].

12. *multam* Med., *inultam* Beroaldus,—a frequent confusion;

'ductus litterarum' very similar. | *atque haec* Med. and edd.: *alitque haec* Madvig.

13. *morum* Lipsius and edd.: *temporum* Med.,—due to repetition of last syllable of preceding word, called 'dittography.'

14. *uetustum* Beroaldus: *uetustus tum* Med.,—'dittography' again. | *qua* Lipsius: *ea qua* Med. (*ex qua* Weissenborn, *ea tempestate qua* Rhenanus) | *incluserant* Madvig | *ut* om. Med.: ins. Med. 1 before *auctoritate.*

15. *adfecit* Ritter, *adficit* Med.

16. *accedere* Med. 2: *accederet* Med.: *accedere et* Iac. Gronovius. | After *uitarentur* Lipsius suspects a lacuna; but see Madvig *adu. crit.* ii 546. | *et quod* Rhenanus: *et quō* Med.: *et quoniam* is accepted by Nipperdey as right reading of Med. | *flamonium* Med. (giving correct spelling); cf. xiii 2. This spelling is supported by inscriptions.

17. *perinde* Rhenanus: *proinde* Med.,—frequent confusion: cf. c. 20. | *diductam* Beroaldus: *deductam* Med.,—substitution of commoner word.

18. Others punctuate *uictor. quanto.* | *more procideret* Rhenanus: *procederet* Med. | *imparemque se tanto* Pichena.

19. Others punctuate *patres. silente reo—premeretur. conscientia.* | *socia* Med., which gives *sosia* before and after [Ritter].

20. *M'* Lipsius: *M.* Med. See explanatory note. | *ut temporibus illis,* C. F. W. Müller. | *comperior* Med.: *comperio* Beroaldus; but see Sallust *Iug.* 45. | *perinde* Beroaldus followed by most edd.: *proinde* Med. defended by Nipperdey.

21. *Pisonem Q. Granius* Lipsius: *pisonemque grauius* Med.: *Pisonemque Granius* Ritter,—good example of buried proper name. | *Seriphio* Beroaldus wrongly.

23. *ubi impetrando* Lipsius: *sub* Med. Before Lipsius the reading was *sibi.* | *fortune* Med.: hence *fortunae* most edd.: *fortuna* Halm without comment, followed by Furneaux.

24. *Thubursicum* Nipperdey. | *sui* Med.: *statim* Acidalius. | *rege Ptolemaeo* Beroaldus: *recepto leameo* Med.,—buried proper name and wrong division. | *aut tribunis* Med. not *ac* the reading before Iac. Gronovius.

25. *deiectis* I. F. Gronovius: *deletis* Pfitzner: *delectis* Med.—

a frequent confusion. | *offusis* Lipsius: *circumfusis* Haase. | *multa* Med. for *inulta*. See c. 12.

26. *set culpae nescia* Halm: *et c. nescia* Med. supported by Orelli: *ut c. nescia* Haase: *et c. non nescia* Iac. Gronovius: *et c. socia* Nipperdey. See Halm's note. | *more honos missusque* Döderlein followed by Orelli and Halm (Heraeus comparing c. 16): *more omissusque* Med.: *mos missusque* Lipsius.

27. *mota*: *moti* Pluygers. | *calles* Med. supported by Orelli: *Cales* Lipsius and many edd. See explanatory note. | *euenerant* Haase and many edd.: *euenerat* Med. supported by Orelli.

28. *utrique* Lipsius: *uirique* Med.,—another example of confusion of *i* and *t*. | *pater oranti filio comparatur* Halm: *peroranti filio praeparatur* Med.: *peroranti filio pater comparatur* Madvig: *pater orante filio: praeparatus* Orelli. | *falsa* Med. supported by Nipperdey and Dräger: *falso* Ursinus followed by Orelli, Halm and Furneaux. See explanatory note.

30. *cum*, not in Med., must be inserted before *Gallus*, or somewhere in this clause. | *Amorgum* Rhenanus: *amor cum* Med.,—buried proper name again. | *ne poenis*: *ne*, not in Med., is inserted by Bekker. | *umquam*: *nunquam* in margin of Med.

31. *iureiurando* Ritter followed by Orelli and Halm: *eiurando* Med.,—'haplography,' i.e. syllable written once instead of twice. | *indicio* Vertranius and most edd.: *iudicio* Med.,—a frequent confusion.

32. *ueteris*, Freinsheim; cf. i 1. | *cōposiuere* Med. appears to show trace of an archaic form [Furneaux] | *praeuerterentur* preferred by Nipperdey.

33. *consciata* Med.: *consociata* Ernesti, before whom the reading was *constituta*. | *re Romana* Lipsius: *rerum* Med.,—a corruption from the abbreviation *re Rom.* | *exitu* Med. retained by Halm: *exitii* Pichena, followed by Ritter and Orelli. No reason for change. See explanatory note. | *Romanasne* Halm after Nipperdey: *Romanasue* Med. | *reperies* Med. and edd.: *reperias* Halm after Madvig. Cf. vi 22. | *nimis* Muretus: *animis* Med. | *ad inceptum* Halm and Orelli: *ad incepta* Beroaldus: *ancepto* Med. See explanatory note.

34. *uocabula imponuntur* Beroaldus: *uocabulum ponuntur*

Med. | *insignis* Beroaldus : *insigni* Med. | *opibus* Acidalius : *opibusque* Med. supported by Nipperdey. | *relinquere* Med.

35. *num enim* Halm : *num eum* Med. | *ne—quidem* I. F. Gronovius : *nec—quidem* Med. | *rependit nec deerunt* Beroaldus : *rependunt nec derunt* Med.,—an error due to assimilation. | *sedet etiam mei* Med. It appears possible that the true reading is *sed et* and *etiam* a gloss [Furneaux]. | *set* (*sed*) *manserunt* Lipsius : *et* Med.,—a very common confusion.

36. *destrictior* Med. : *districtior* Beroaldus. But Halm and Furneaux retain the spelling of Med.

37. *facta* Beroaldus : *ficta* Med. from *dicta* which follows. *per omnes per prouincias* Med.—a 'dittography.' One *per* must be omitted.

38. *deos ipsos* Pichena supposing a 'dittography' : *deos et deos ipsos* Med. 1 : *deos et deas ipsas* Med. 2.

40. *inuitum* Heinsius : *inuite* Med. by assimilation after preceding *te* : *inuito* Beroaldus, old edd. and Nipperdey.

41. *non iam* Muretus : *non tam* Med. We have had several examples of this confusion. | *ueram potentiam augeri* Halm and Orelli after Marcilius : *uera potentia augere* Med. : *uera potentiae augere* Ryck and Heinsius : Fisher would prefer *uera potentiae augeri*. *uera potentiae* means 'realities of power.'

43. *Limnatidis* Lipsius (see explanatory note) : *Liminatidis* Med. Cf. λιμενοσκόπος in Callimachus. | *regi Denthaliatem* Nipperdey : *recident heliatem* (*haliatem* Med. 2),—showing the faithfulness of the Medicean scribe. | *impotentia* Madvig. But *potentia* 'arbitrarily' is quite satisfactory. | *delapsam* Med. : *dilapsam* Ernesti : cf. Livy iv 20. | *vulgatius*, buried proper name *Vulcacius*. See xvi 8.

44. *degetes* Med. : *de Getis* edd. | *partae* Lipsius followed by Halm and Orelli : *paratae* Med. | *delectus* Pichena : *deiectus* Med.,—a frequent error. | *Iulo* Lipsius : *Iulio* Med. : *Iullo* Andresen.

45. *frustra se* Med. 2 : *frustra si* Med. : Fisher suggests *frustra sic*. | *quaestionem* Ritter : *quaesitionem* Med. | *quippe* Bezzenberger : *qui* Med. : *quia* Pichena.

46. *incultu* Med. defended by Nipperdey : *inculti* Beroaldus :

sine cultu Bezzenberger, followed by Halm, Orelli, Furneaux. *incultius* Georges. See explanatory note.

47. *conduceretur* Pichena. *postquam—uenere* Iac. Gronovius: *quam—uenire* Med.

49. *degrediebantur* Pichena: *degrediebatur* Med. | *simulque* Ursinus followed by Nipperdey: *simuleque* Med.: *simul equi* Lipsius and most edd.

50. *tantum his* Madvig (*adu. crit.* ii 548) followed by Halm and Nipperdey: *quamuis* Med. followed by Ritter and Orelli, who however bracket it. | *properandum* Ricklefs; *properum per* Haase. No alteration is needed. See explanatory note.

51. *deiecto* Halm after Orelli: *delecto* Med.: *deleto* Beroaldus and Nipperdey,—frequent errors. | *incolarum* Beroaldus: *incorum* Med.,—error due to abbreviation. Cf. xiii 39.

52. *reperit* Ernesti,—to harmonise with *pergit.* | *se imaginem* Muretus: *sed maginem* Med., arising from *set maginem* in the change of *i* and *t*, which is very frequent.

53. *probis* Med. and edd.: *probris* Petersen. | After *ciuitate* there is a lacuna in Med. Haase supplies it by the words *qui diuo Augusto ortam.* | *ex re p.* Med., usually read as *ex re publica*: *ex se* Wurm followed by Dräger and Halm. *ea re*, 'on that account,' Madvig.

54. *sua manu* Rhenanus: *suae manu* Med.

55. *hypae penitrali tanique* Med., corrected by Beroaldus. | *aedem—sitam* Med. | *in Graeciam* Med. and edd., perhaps a marginal gloss [Furneaux]: *in insulam* Urlichs | *icta* Rhenanus: *dicta* Med.

56. *Marsus* Rhenanus: *Marcus* Med.

57. After *in Campaniam* Halm inserts *abscessit*: *concessit* Otto and Haase: *recessit* Ritter. See explanatory note. | *num*: *ut* Probst. | *occultantem* Rhenanus: *occultantis* Med.,—error due to similarity of termination.

59. *genu*: *sinu* Probst. | *in praesentia.* See explanatory note. Med. has *in praesentia rum* (thus divided). Ritter thinks *rum* due to *plerumque* above. Most editors read *in praesentiarum* here and in *Agricola* 39. It seems to be a barbarous form, unlikely to have been used by Tacitus. It occurs as early as Cato, and is found

once in Cornelius Nepos. It is most frequent in Appuleius. | *animi* Med. See explanatory note. Halm reads *animum* after Pichena: *animi se* Ritter.

60. *procedebant* Med.: *procidebant* Haase. | *promptior*: Ernesti preferred *pronior*.

61. *et Q.* Med. has *et quae* (*atque* in margin). | *quoad.* Med. has *qua ad* (also in vi 51). So Orelli gives *quaad* as a possible spelling.

62. *in sordidam mercedem* Pichena followed by Orelli, Halm, and Nipperdey, cf. xi 6: *in sordida mercede* Med. *uirilis et muliebris sexus* Beroaldus. | *effusius* Lipsius: *effusus* Med. | *moles* Ritter. | *aut qui* Pluygers. | *perculisset* Beroaldus: *periculis sed* Med.,—error due to wrong division and to *set* (=*sed*).

63. *et par* Beroaldus. | *munus*: *manus* Med.

64. *ominibus* Beroaldus: *omnibus* Med.,—error due to preference for a commoner word. | *ostenderint* Lipsius: *ostenderent* Med.

65. *tulisset* Lipsius: *appellatum tauisset* Med. (*appellatum* a mere repetition of *appellitatum* above): *portauisset* Döderlein (cf. Sallust *Cat.* 6, 5), followed by Halm and others.

66. *casus* N. Heinsius: *casum* Med.

67. *abdidit* Beroaldus: *addidit* Med. | *gnaro* Beroaldus: *grano* Med. (showing the scribe's limited range). | *occultiores* Halm after Weissenborn: *occultior* Med.: *occultos* (with common ellipse of *magis*) I. F. Gronovius.

68. *Petilius* Lipsius: *petitius* Med. | *fecere* Faërnus: *facere* Med.

69. *metu* (i.e. *metui*)—*suspiciones erant* Ernesti. | *erat* Rhenanus: *erant* Med. | *suumque ipsi* Beroaldus: *suumque ipse* Med. | *tegens* Lipsius: *egens* Med.: *reticens* Weissenborn, followed by Halm. *se tegens* Vetranius. Some suppose a lacuna. We have *spem male tegens* in c. 12.

70. *acciderent* Rhenanus: *acciperent* Med. | *imprudentem* Rhenanus and edd.: *prudentem* Med. | *adisse, quaesitum* Beroaldus: *adisset quaesitum* Med.: *adisse, set quaesitum* Wurm.

71. *opperiretur* Muretus followed by Orelli and nearly all

edd.: *aperirentur* Med., supported by Halm. | *Tremetum* Freinsheim.

72. *urorum* Med. and edd.: *taurorum* Nipperdey without sufficient cause. | *subueniebatur* Rhenanus: *subueniebat* Med.

73. *castelli* Rhenanus: *castello* Med.,—corruption due to assimilated termination. *degressis* Med. supported by Nipperdey: *digressis* Beroaldus and most edd. *sua tutanda*. Hence Ptolemy probably introduced the bogus Σιατουτάνδα as the name of a town in North Germany (Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts*, p. 182). *alarius* Freinsheim: *acrius* Med.

74. *internus* Rhenanus: *internos* Med. | *degressi* Med. generally retained: *digressi* Beroaldus. | *id quoque* Muretus and most edd.: *idque* Med.

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